

Learn what others
have to offer,
But do not forsake
your own . . .
T. SHEVCHENKO

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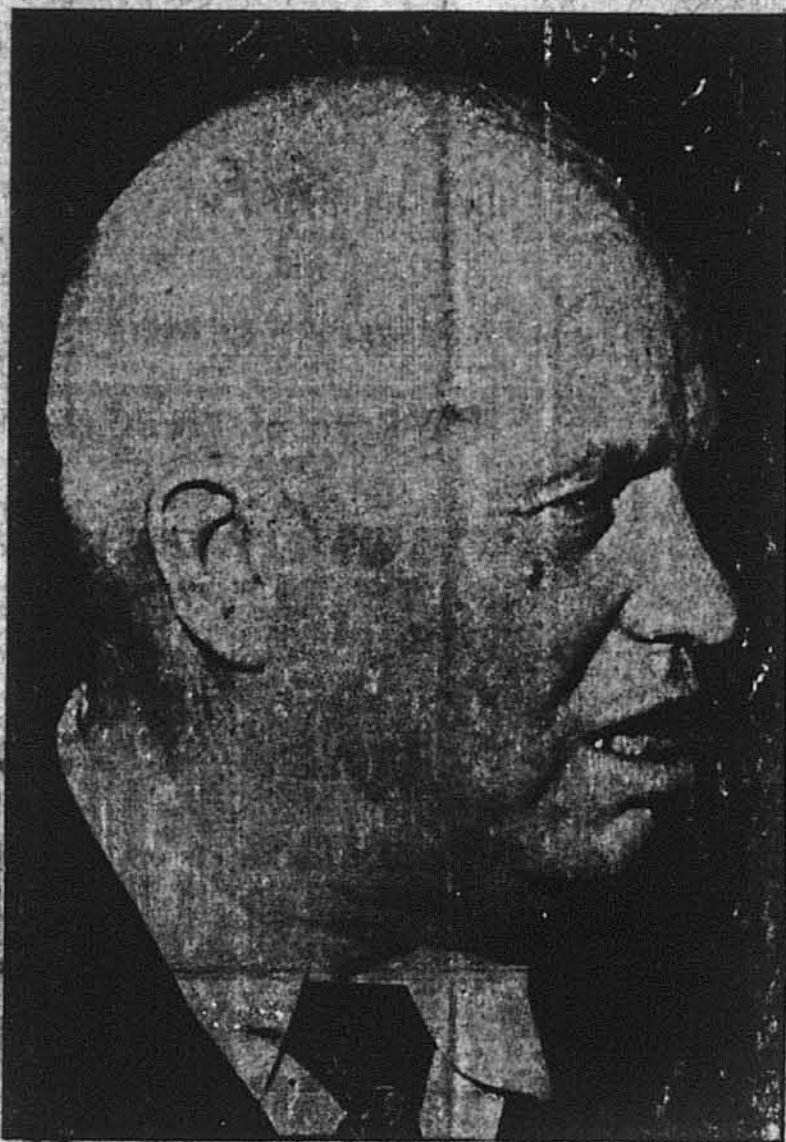


SVOBODA
UKRAINIAN DAILY

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Jersey City 3, N. J.
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New York's Telephone:
Barelay 7-4125

PIK LXVI. Ч. 178. ДЖЕРЗІ СІТІ І НЬЮ ЙОРК, СЕРЕДА, 16-го ВЕРЕСНЯ 1959 ЦЕНТІВ 10 CENTS JERSEY CITY and NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1959 No. 178 VOL. LXVI.

MEET NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV — THE HANGMAN OF UKRAINE



Nikita S. Khrushchev,
the Hangman of Ukraine...

KHRUSHCHEV SAID . . .

"If you don't like us, don't accept our invitation and don't invite us to come to see you. Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you."

(To Western diplomats at a Moscow reception, Nov. 18, 1956)

... AND IKE REPLIED

"NOW, ONCE AGAIN, WE HEAR AN EXPANSIONIST REGIME DECLARING, 'WE WILL BURY YOU.'"

"IN A BIT OF AMERICAN VERNACULAR — 'OH, YEAH?'"

"SERIOUSLY, IT WOULD BE A GRAVE ERROR NOT TO TAKE THIS KIND OF THREAT LITERALLY. THIS THEME HAS BEEN COMMUNIST DOCTRINE FOR A HUNDRED YEARS."

"YOU WILL RECALL THAT THERE WAS ONCE A DICTATOR NAMED HITLER WHO ALSO SAID HE WOULD BURY US. HE WROTE A LONG DULL BOOK TELLING PRECISELY HOW HE WAS GOING TO DO IT. NOT ENOUGH PEOPLE TOOK HIM AT HIS WORD."

"WE SHALL NOT MAKE THAT MISTAKE AGAIN."

(Radio-TV address, Oklahoma City, Nov. 13, 1957)

KHRUSHCHEV RESPONSIBLE:

The Horrible Mass Murder of 10,000 Ukrainians in Vynnytsia

EYE WITNESS STORY BASED ON FINDINGS
AND DOCUMENTS

By MAURICE PODOROZHNY

In a beautiful and picturesque section of Ukrainian Podolia, on the river Boh and on the railroad from Kiev to Odessa lies the city of Vynnytsia, now the center of the oblast of that name. The city and its outskirts are literally smothered in gardens. At the beginning of World War II, Vynnytsia had a population of about 100,000. Approximately 41% were Ukrainians, 38% Jews, 14% Russians and 4% Poles. That city was fated to become the symbol of the most horrible example of genocide committed by the Soviet forces

of occupation on the Ukrainian population during the entire period of its rule and continuing to the present time with the same savagery. The direct responsibility for this crime can be laid on Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, Stalin's deputy in Ukraine — that same Khrushchev who became Stalin's heir to the All-Union dictatorship now came to the United States to be met and entertained. It was on the corpses of the Ukrainians of Vynnytsia and of other Ukrainian cities that Khrushchev climbed to power in the Soviet genocidal system and won the highest decorations and medals of the Soviet government and also the people's name of the "Butcher of Ukraine."

under the Soviets had a population of 31,194,976. The same official statistics for 1939 give the population as 28,070,404 Ukrainians.

That means that in 10 years Ukraine lost 3,124,572 people. When we remember that the rate of the natural increase in Ukraine was very high and that Soviet statistics at this period showed it as between 17.7 and 24.5 per thousand then in the ten years before the war Ukraine lost at least 10,000,000 people. Where did the Ukrainians go or how did they vanish? Part of the explanation is given by the heaps of corpses of the carefully prepared famine in 1932-33 and a still more ghastly explanation was found in Vynnytsia and other cities of Ukraine during World War II. There in Vynnytsia were found about 10,000 bodies of people with their hands bound behind them and with their skulls pierced by Bolshevik bullets, and buried in mass graves.

In the Valley of Tears and Sorrow, of Ruin and Death

July 16, 1943 was a beautiful day. The sun like a fiery ball came out from behind the clouds and poured out its rays upon the earth which had long been without light or warmth. The light and warmth of the sun and the beauty of luxurious nature was in the sharpest contrast to the crowds of ragged, starving, exhausted and pitiable people who were standing with little bundles in their hands at the freight station in Koziatyn. Most of them were women and old men. Now and then one would take out from his bundle a piece of bread, a loaf of millet and oats or bran and piously and cautiously put it in his mouth. In the crowd were hungry and ragged children running around and sticking everything that fell into their mouths and then spitting it out when they found it was not an apple peel or a crust of bread. Among these wretches on the railroad appeared now and then apathetically the local railroad staff who paid no attention to anything.

This was only in one corner of the station. Elsewhere there were crowds of different colored uniforms: gray-green, gray, brown and black. These uniforms set off the faces of their wearers. Those in black and bronze were fat, busy, self-confident and savage. Those in

gray were utterly gray and colorless. Their martial enthusiasm had long since died out and disappeared entirely as they came to this land. Now they were being sent into the familiar unknown, they were the ordinary soldiers of the German Reichswehr and they were indifferent where the black and bronze and gray green uniforms were sending them. Through these gray figures among the civilian travelers kept moving the army guards with fixed bayonets and helmets. In the distance was heard a locomotive whistle and the men in helmets barred all the doors. A freight train rolled in with closed cars. Between all the cars were men in helmets and with fixed bayonets. This was a train of slaves sent off for work in the Reich. As it went through the station it slowed up but did not stop. It passed and the people with packages secretly wiped away their tears and made the sign of the cross.

After a while another train came in and stopped. In front ahead of the locomotive was an open car with sand bags and on it a ready machine gun with its crew. This was against the partisans. Behind the locomotive were several freight cars and then two or three passenger cars. These were not for people but "nur fuer Deutsche" — only for Germans. For the people there were two

(Continued on Page 3)

Khrushchev — A Self-Admitted Russian

EDITOR'S NOTE: It has been the vogue for some time on this side of the Iron Curtain to label Nikita S. Khrushchev a Ukrainian.

On March 7, 1959, the ninth All-German Workers' Conference was held in Leipzig. Attended by 1,400 delegates, Nikita Khrushchev, himself one of the sponsors of the affair, delivered an address. His own remarks on his origin are most enlightening — and welcome. (The full text appeared in *Soviet News*, published by the Press-Department of the Soviet Embassy in London.)

"I Myself Am Russian"

... After the First World War, when the young Russian republic was compelled to sign the Brest peace treaty, the counter-revolutionary Central Council in Ukraine also signed a peace treaty with Germany. The Ukrainian state was dominated by the German imperialists.

During the demarcation of the frontier the people of some frontier villages were asked which state they wanted to belong to: the Russian Federation or Ukraine. The village where I was born lies on the frontier between Ukraine and Russia. It is a Russian village, but most of its people, my father and myself included, worked in the Donbas mines and in towns in the south of Ukraine. As a result, there were many arguments among the peasants as to which of the two states to join.

Many of the villages wanted to join Ukraine, and if there had been no Gaidamaks there, if it had not been ruled by capitalists and landowners, the people of our village would probably have voted for joining Ukraine. But when some peasants spoke for joining Ukraine, the others said: "We, too, are for joining Ukraine. Ukraine is rich, and we have become used to it. We have lived and worked there. But there are Gaidamaks in Ukraine today . . ."

And the peasants finally voted for joining the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

To return to the question of German reunification, I myself am Russian. [Emphasis ours—Ed.] I come from among the workers and I naturally respect my nation, and I respect other nations too. But when it comes to class solidarity, to class struggle, I uphold the interests of the class of workers, the interests of the working people . . .

* *Gaidamaks* in Ukrainian, which were Ukrainian anti-Communist military formations, organized by the Ukrainian national government in Kiev.—EDITOR.

STATEMENT ON KHRUSHCHEV'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR CRIMES IN UKRAINE

Excerpts from the article, "A Fighting Program of Activities of Bolsheviks of Ukraine," which appeared in *Bilshovyk Ukrainy*, official organ of the Communist Party of Ukraine (No. 7, July, 1938, pp. 25-40):

"The leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the perception and wisdom of the leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, the splendid activity of the glorious Soviet security organs headed by the Stalinist

Narkom (People's Commissar) M. I. Yezhov, and the active assistance of the working people assured the destruction of hornet-like enemy nests. The implacable eradication of enemies — Trotskyites, Bukharinites, bourgeois nationalists and other spying scum began only after the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) sent to Ukraine Nikita S. Khrushchev, veteran Bolshevik and Stalinist, to direct the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine..." (p. 25)

OUR SPECIAL EDITION

We are publishing this special English-language edition of *SVOBODA*, the oldest and largest Ukrainian daily in the free world, on the occasion of the visit to the Land of the Free of Soviet Dictator Nikita S. Khrushchev, the very contradiction and bitter enemy of everything America stands for. The black frames adorning our newspaper, symbolize our feelings and thoughts on this occasion.

While today not only our federal and state authorities, but also various institutions and individuals are preparing to show to N. S. Khrushchev America in its truest light, we deem it our patriotic duty as citizens to present, according to our ability and knowledge, the "guest" in his true light and colors. Hence, we are issuing this special edition.

There are in the United States about two million citizens of Ukrainian descent. Under the leadership of the national political representation, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, they are, together with other citizens of Eastern European descent, prepared to meet the Soviet Dictator with peaceful demonstrations, rallies and prayers for the victims of Soviet tyranny, while at the same time keeping in mind that the visitor is the guest of our President.

СВОБОДА SVOBODA



... and His Victims From the Mass Graves of Vynnytsia

СВОБОДА SVOBODA

UKRAINIAN DAILY

Ukrainian newspaper published daily except Sundays, Mondays & holidays (Saturday & Monday issues combined) by the Ukrainian National Association, Inc. at 81-83 Grand Street, Jersey City 3, N. J.

Second Class Postage paid at the Post Office of Jersey City, N. J. Accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided for Section 1130 of Act of October 3, 1917 authorized July 31, 1918.

СРЕДНІ ЦІНИ: \$12.00
Один рік: \$12.00
Шість місяців: \$6.25
Три місяці: \$3.25

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За кожну зміну адреси платиться 10 центів.

Адреса: "SVOBODA", P. O. Box 346, JERSEY CITY 3, N. J.

THE VISIT OF KHRUSHCHEV

By CLARENCE A. MANNING

The invitation of Nikita Khrushchev to visit the United States and the journey of President Eisenhower to Moscow are logical steps in the carrying out of that same policy of containment which has already lost to Communism the whole of Eastern Europe and a large part of Asia and has trained the free world to fight not an offensive campaign against Communism but to conduct a delaying retreat in the forlorn hope that sooner or later the Communist leaders will become ashamed of their greed and violence and will of their own accord accept the old rules of international living. The general expressions of approval by the leading representatives of both parties show that American adherence to this doctrine is fundamental despite the brave talk that the United States and the free world must somehow or other bring liberty to the victims of Communism. This approval transfers the bankruptcy of policy from the administration to Congress and so to the entire American government and people.

Of course no one in high position will admit this unpalatable truth. They prefer to cloak it under idealistic assumptions that Khrushchev and his associates really desire peace and that the only danger of war is from his lack of appreciation of the real position of the United States and of the peace-loving character of the American people which has been concealed from him by Soviet officials of lower rank who have told him merely what he wishes to hear. The advocates of this argument more or less sincerely believe that if Khrushchev sees America for himself he will be led to change his attitude and will be willing to negotiate or at least make some concessions which will make it possible for the West to yield to some of his wishes without seeming to surrender to naked force. They advanced the same arguments for a friendly reception to Mikoyan and then to Kozlov and deplored any discourteous treatment to them lest it anger and insult the dignity of Nikita Khrushchev. They see in the visit a postponement of the Berlin crisis and they regard that as a step toward its solution, even though they know that they themselves are being lulled to sleep and not the Russian Communists. They cling to the old and exploded idea that personal acquaintance of the leaders of the nations and of selected groups of citizens from both sides of the Iron Curtain will wipe out deep-seated differences not in politics but in principles and will lead to the merging of right and wrong in some kind of a neutral gray.

Western and American diplomacy has never faced squarely the challenge of Communism. When Lenin declared in 1917 his credo for a Communist state based purely on his interpretation of Marxism and his repudiation of the geographical Russian Empire with his new state and denounced as hostile all non-Communist governments, the West did not accept the statement but endeavored to argue itself into believing that sooner or later the Communists would accept the old, traditional bases for national sovereignty and could then be welcomed into the family of nations. It has been hard for them to believe that that has not happened in forty years and they have consistently tried to fit the Soviet Union into their own conception of the world and despite repeated proofs of Soviet duplicity before, during and after World War II, they

have clung to the idea that somehow they will finally achieve their goal. The fusion of Communism and Russian imperialism seemed to the Western world some kind of a step in this direction. The willingness of the Soviet Union to enter the United Nations was another even though it meant the perversion of that institution from an agency for the development of free nations to an instrument for producing disputes and futility, whenever Moscow so wished. The conferences in Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam and Geneva could not relieve tensions save by the surrender of the West and the only relaxations came when the Berlin airlift and Western support for Greece showed the Russian Communists that they had either to fight immediately or to withdraw their pretensions. There is little doubt that Khrushchev would have been less hopeful had the West definitely challenged him on Berlin than when they sought to solve the crisis by negotiations which treated his feelings as of some concern to the free world and tried to find a solution which would not affect the relative positions of the free and the slave world. The American reaction that could not find a means for calling him to account for his actions in Hungary showed him that the free world and the United Nations would not call him to account and the entire flood of mutual exchanges and attempts at understanding merely encouraged him in his confidence that he could find a way to infiltrate and demoralize the West still further. It showed that the West was not in a crusading mood and that he had chosen the correct path of a mixture of insults and threats which would ultimately pay off.

In extending the invitation, President Eisenhower was treating Khrushchev as he would the head of any civilized nation which accepted the current principles of international law. Yet Khrushchev is not planning on using the visit to produce a better understanding but to secure a sounding board, from which he can sell to the American public his peculiar brand of propaganda. If in any way he is shown clearly that the American people are not falling for his brand of peaceful coexistence with all its connotations of freedom for Communism to infiltrate at will, he will return with more respect, if not more love for the American people than he will, if every one goes out of his way to stress that he is accepted as a peace-loving individual with a different creed and the leader of a world that should be friendly. His present policy is to establish a division of the world and to prove to his slaves that the United States is not interested at heart in liberating them. His policy is that of the typical outlaw in Western movies who is exploiting the fears of a cowed population under threat of war. If the President puts firmly up to him the necessity of liberation, Khrushchev will know that he has to try again on a new policy.

The hope of peace lies in

KHRUSHCHEV AND THE CAPTIVE NATIONS

By Lev E. Dobriansky

The invitation extended by our Government to Nikita S. Khrushchev, the "Hangman of Ukraine," is a political mistake. For two years the present Russian tyrant has pressed, blustered, and threatened for this invitation, and he has won out. Moscow had every cause to hail the announcement of the invitation as "a triumph for Khrushchev." There will be consequences from this, and they will not be to our advantage because of the admittedly superior propaganda apparatus built up by Moscow. But aside from this, the blunt fact remains that for reasons of respectability, power equality, advantages for further cold war gains, and the undermining of the strategic and political value of the captive nations of the Free World, Moscow sought this invitation and successfully has realized this goal. One can't argue this away.

No greater mistake can be made than to view the events of these past two months in isolation and with separation. The Captive Nations Resolution, the so-called Khrushchev article in *Foreign Affairs*, and his visit to the United States are intertwined. Moscow didn't anticipate it in this manner because it never expected the Congress to take the leadership in advancing the Captive Nations Resolution. As Khrushchev said, it was like a "black cat" that crossed Nixon's path. Without it, Moscow would be riding even higher today. In the welter of comments and analyses today about these events, we need really ask ourselves only two basic questions. They are: (1) Why has Moscow been so concerned and disturbed about the Captive Nations Resolution? and (2) Why are countless Americans disturbed about this Khrushchev visit to the citadel of world freedom? A little thought given to both questions will show that the two are interlocked and also that Khrushchev is making every preparation to discredit the Resolution once he arrives here.

When this writer conceived the Captive Nations Week idea last year, his main motivation was to neutralize the growing indifference of the American public to the strategic value of the captive nations and also to break through the limited popular conception that the captive nations were only the few "satellites" in Central Europe. This year the Resolution was revised to suit new circumstances and timed for both the Geneva Conference and the Nixon visit. It worked. The Resolution is now a Public Law and its complete effectiveness was demonstrated by the explosion in Moscow.

Now, what then is the significance of this Resolution which Khrushchev has reacted against so violently and which he will seek to discredit once he is here. First, the Captive Nations observance comes in the month of July when we observe our own Declaration of Independence. The spirit and principles of this Declaration do not belong to us alone. In fact, they have more concrete meaning and hope for the 800 million who are subjugated by the only real colonialism and imperialism existing in the world today. For both them and us, this Declaration is the basis of our living revolution toward freedom and peace with justice. It is the means for us to preserve our freedom; it is the means for them to regain it. The Resolution is based on our Declaration of Independence and this in itself is anathema to imperialist and colonial Moscow.

disillusioning him and in raising the banner of freedom still higher. As the leader of the Communist world, he has the audacity to maintain his policy of spreading peace in Tibet, Hungary and now Laos. It will be only when the West puts on the agenda true liberation, that Khrushchev will be ready to negotiate in good faith as an alternative to the breaking up of his empire. His visit must be the first step in plainer talking and more direct action by the government of the United States and the inauguration of a policy that will mean the liberation of subject peoples everywhere.

But the Resolution and observance mean other things, too. They mean that we are ever mindful of the captivity of these nations and that we shall never acquiesce in its permanence. They give the lie to the wishful statements made by Mikoyan and other Moscow tyrants that the United States has retracted its policy of liberation. They affirm also that the United States will make no deals with Moscow that in any way would impede progress toward national and individual freedom. Furthermore, they mean that we are not deceived by the "peaceful coexistence" gestures of Moscow and its so-called "good will" emissaries. Deeds—deeds that spell out progress toward freedom—can now be our only test. Khrushchev well deduced this and thus will make every attempt during his visit to "prove" that the captive nations are not captive at all.

The Resolution and the observance say, too, that we Americans are aware that the cause of the eventual liberation and independence of the captive nations is indispensable to our future as a free nation. But most significant in this Public Law is the fact that for the first time our Government has recognized that the Soviet Union itself is an empire. The majority of captive nations is recognized and mentioned. Thus we recognize, too, that Russia, without the captive non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, would itself be a third rate power. The freedom of the captive nations, therefore, means the freedom of all captive nations in the Communist Empire. This new element struck Moscow most; indeed, convulsively.

This historic event shows also that we realize that the issue of Berlin is an integral part of the problem of a divided Germany and that this larger problem is an inseparable part of the problem of the captive millions. It means furthermore that if we should be pressed to go to a summit meeting, morally we must go with the problem of the captivity of nations as a paramount agenda item. In short, the Resolution holds that the basic source of all major world tensions is the very existence of the Russian Communist Empire. Khrushchev knows all this and was superstitious enough to refer to a "black cat." In fact, he fears all this and will make every attempt to refute it. Some, unfortunately, may be impressed.

The invitation to Khrushchev without doubt another Russian cold war victory. The political criminal will don the much needed cloak of respectability and legitimacy. His numerous heinous crimes in Ukraine and elsewhere will be covered by the honors of hospitality to be extended by our Government. While another free nation, Laos, is desperately fighting for its freedom against Moscow-inspired imperialism, the United States will be entertaining the chief designer of expanded Communist imperialism. It sounds unbelievable and incredible, yet it is so pitifully true. But above all, Khrushchev will use this occasion to squelch growing American interest in the captive nations within his own immediate bailiwick. This is of immediate critical interest to him because of the tremendous opportunities and possibilities this new dimension affords the United States in the cold war beyond the theatrics of visit exchanges.

Already, Mr. Khrushchev has given adequate indication of his preparations in this respect. His unusual visit to the Don Cossack country and invitation to Mikhail A. Sholokhov, the outstanding Don Cossack writer, to join him on this visit is an indication that Khrushchev will use him to "prove" that the captives are contented. His entourage includes the name of Shevchenko and several other non-Russian names. Similar to what the ten Soviet writers did on their trip to Washington in August, Khrushchev will place these non-Russians on display to disprove the Resolution. An old patent medicine trick, but, like Barnum, Nikita believes a fool is born every minute. For reasonable men, of course, this type of evidence is no evidence at all.

The other indication of Khrushchev's efforts along this line is his heralded article in the *Foreign Affairs* journal. Again he strongly criticizes the Resolution and advances a familiar Russian imperialist argument of parallelism between the United States and the Soviet Union. Ukraine, Lithuania, and the three Caucasian nations are, for him, like Texas, Arizona, and California. How would we feel, he blandly asks, if the parliament of Mexico were to pass a resolution calling for the liberation of these states from "American slavery"? If there was ever an argument in a non-sequitur, this is it. But this gives an indication of the lengths Khrushchev is prepared to go.

KHRUSHCHEV, THE HANGMAN OF UKRAINE

The long standing and constant connection of Nikita Khrushchev, a Muscovite by birth from the north part of the Kursk region, with Ukraine has brought its people inestimable harm. In the tangled mass of national problems confronted by the Soviet Union Ukraine has always been for the Bolsheviks the most painful and the most sensitive point. Yet this man who had nothing in common with the culture and traditions of the people of that country, in the name of the Communist Party, attempted to solve them.

Not only his inborn cleverness but his boasting and his keen political sense helped Khrushchev to climb to one of the highest posts in the Soviet bureaucracy and to stay there until the death of Stalin and it is obvious that he was aided in this by his "proletarian origin" and his work in the Donetsk coal mines where he began quietly his Party career. Paradoxical as it may sound, in the higher ranks of the Communist Party, the "advance guard of the world proletariat," the percentage of workers has always been extremely low.

Khrushchev made his way into the Party pantheon at the time when Stalin, after perfecting Lenin's methods of purging, had removed from power all the intellectuals who opposed him, Trotsky, Bukha-

shev's efforts along this line is his heralded article in the *Foreign Affairs* journal. Again he strongly criticizes the Resolution and advances a familiar Russian imperialist argument of parallelism between the United States and the Soviet Union. Ukraine, Lithuania, and the three Caucasian nations are, for him, like Texas, Arizona, and California. How would we feel, he blandly asks, if the parliament of Mexico were to pass a resolution calling for the liberation of these states from "American slavery"? If there was ever an argument in a non-sequitur, this is it. But this gives an indication of the lengths Khrushchev is prepared to go.

Aside from the easy arguments that can and must be offered to devastate his deceptive approach, we should raise the challenge of a vote by natives in each of these paralleled areas under U.N. jurisdiction. Let Ukrainians—and we mean Ukrainians—in Ukraine vote whether they wish to remain in the USSR or be independent just as resident citizens of Texas would be asked the same question concerning their being in the United States. The same would be applied to the others. This is the only type of challenge Nikita the Sanguine really understands. Rational arguments will not dissuade him, for that matter any tyrant in Moscow. It is plainly naive to think that an "exchange of ideas" will in any way alter present problems. It is equally naive to imagine that the exchanged visits will enhance mutual understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union and thus contribute to a lessening of world tensions or a cessation of the cold war. Indeed, historical and analytic understanding shows that the exchanged visits are an integral part of the cold war. As an imperialist and colonial power, Russia lives and breathes by the cold war.

In time, more and more Americans will understand this. The next big leap toward such an understanding will come after these exchanged visits. If we suffer grave disadvantages as a result of them, many will ask how we were fooled into this in the first place. A cry for a change of policy, particularly the now misleading cultural exchange program, will be raised. If we see no pragmatic effects whatsoever, many will then rightly ask, "Well, what now?" Obviously we can't stand on dead center. This writer sees no alternatives to these two possible outcomes.

The immediate period ahead is fraught with immense danger. Khrushchev has already, as pointed out above, given us grounds for an excellent challenge. Like Mikoyan, he will give us more while he is here. It is for us Americans to make the most of these opportunities in order to minimize the dangers resident in this political error.

rin, Zinoviev and Kameney. Nikita Khrushchev, steadily and with absolute ruthlessness in his choice of methods, made his way first as the "loyal man" of Lazar Kaganovich, then Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine. When Kaganovich in 1929 was called to Moscow, as was usual with the Soviet "bosses," he took with him his right hand man, including Khrushchev whose watchful "Donets proletarian" soon became Stalin's man.

Up to 1934 Khrushchev worked in the capital of the Soviet Union in subordinate posts as Secretary of the rayon and then of a city and district committee of the Party. But these apparently subordinate posts, because of the nearness to the Kremlin, had their own importance and the persons who filled them were specially approved by Stalin.

At the 17th Congress of the Party, called the Congress of the "Victors," the Bolsheviks celebrated their victory over the peasantry, the terrible devastation and deportation from Ukraine to the north of 3 million "kurkuls" who had opposed the introduction of the collectivization of agriculture. At this Congress, Khrushchev, "one of the closest collaborators of Stalin" as he was characterized in the Soviet Encyclopedia of 1955, made a speech which determined his further career but which he would certainly not repeat today. "Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin," Khrushchev said then—"the right deviationists were definitely shattered... We are moving more tightly bound together than ever before around our general leader, Comrade Stalin. But we will not dare to relax our vigilance, we must strengthen the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the complete annihilation of every sort of enemies of the people."

This period of the activity of Khrushchev is treated very briefly in his official biography, perhaps so as to conceal some facts not advantageous today to the dictator. Yet there are certain data that in these years he worked for a while in the Central Commission with the Central Committee of the Party where with the title of Extraordinary Party Controller he must have been most closely connected with the planners and administration of the organization of the artificial famine in Ukraine in the years 1932-33, which resulted in the death of some 6 million people.

In 1934 after the murder of Kirov which was inspired by Stalin, (as Khrushchev affirmed later at the 20th Congress after the death of Stalin) and which marked the beginning of a bloody purge which developed countless victims, especially in Ukraine, Khrushchev in his speech declared: "In lifting a hand against Stalin, they (the murderers of Kirov—ed.) raised it against the finest man that humanity possesses. Stalin is our hope, he is the light-house which illuminates the path of all progressive humanity. Stalin is our banner! Stalin—our strength! Stalin—our victory!"

By using superlatives of this kind Khrushchev worked his way to the footstool of the throne of Stalin whom several years later he pictured at a closed session of a Party Congress as an insane coward and sadist. Macchiavelli could never have dreamed of having such a gifted pupil.

The heirs of the dictator were trained in the Kremlin offices in mutual intrigues, in spying, denunciations and the eternal fear of falling into Stalin's disfavor. Gray and without personalities in the splendor of Stalin's glory, which they proclaimed as the highest reality, all these Khrushchevs, Berias, Malenkovs and Bulganins waited only for the convenient moment for mutual reckoning.

In 1938, the second year of the most bloody of all the purges when every night thousands of innocent people disappeared like shadows (the purge was considered to have had two million victims) Stalin appointed Khrushchev a candidate for membership in the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the KP(b) and with Molotov and Yezhov, especially trusted individuals, he sent him to the most threaten-



"We will bury you" — said Nikita S. Khrushchev. ... And he meant it!

The Price of Khrushchev's Little Bear

By IVAN BAHRIANY

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following article was written on the occasion of the visit of Nikita S. Khrushchev to England in 1956.

What is Truth? What is Christianity? What is Western culture and Western morality? What is human dignity and honor? What is democracy and the rights of the people bestowed upon them by God himself and on the guard of which are kings, premiers, Gopals and the whole Western civilization? What does all this mean, when it is being so cheaply (and how cheaply!) sold?

Such thoughts made many souls sweat (here and unquestionably, on the other side of the Iron Curtain) in connection with the triumphal success—naturally, a political success—of Khrushchev's little bear in England.

It is as all know, a quite small and innocent little bear, "Nicky." It was given by the Red "Czars" to the English Princess Anne, little daughter of the English Queen, and because of that it means they have given it to all English mothers and children, fathers—to all English people in general. And as all know, this little bear has simply bewitched the whole England. And, as all know, he did not bewitch England because of being a little bear (there is no shortage of bears in English zoos in the whole Commonwealth; even better ones), but only because he is "Nicky," a sensual gift of Moscow rulers, symbol of friendship of two worlds.

It is a deeply touching symbol of friendship between Christians and democrats on the one side, and atheists and hangmen on the other.

Now the Christians are going on a pilgrimage to the zoo, like to a modern Mecca, in order to pay homage to "Nicky"—to the picture of a new era, era of coexistence of the good with the bad; to the spirit of two "collective" Czars who brought this gift.

Those Moscow Czars have brought many other gifts, but the center of them all, so to say, the impersonation of them all is unquestionably that little bear.

This is without doubt a symbolic gift. Its symbolism lies in the fact that generally the bear is considered by the West as an impersonation of Russia, so to say, her actual coat of arms (as officially and actually the Lion is the English coat of arms), and now that coat of arms, so to say, arrived in person: it has to attest that the "Russian bear" is not at all terrible and vicious, but such a nice, and pleasant, and inoffensive little bear seeking coexistence with the whole world; desiring to comfort and amuse it, but not to pull its hair, together with the skin, off the skull from the back of the head and over the eyes (according to the ancient and favorite habit of Siberian bears).

One does not have to be very

clever to see and understand that the main purpose of the little bear lies in the task of covering up before the whole world, and first of all before the eyes of all English mothers and the whole England the tragedy of millions of other mothers, and the tragedy of their children, although not princes and princesses, but similarly beautiful and innocent who were cruelly starved to death by the artificial famine in 1933 and in all following years in the country of socialism of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; and the tragedy of mothers and children who were tortured in the chambers of horror and starved in the concentration camps by those "gift bringing" Czars and their cruel anti-human regime; and the horrid tragedy of the women who were crushed by tanks in Kingir; and the shooting of revolting slaves in Yerkuta; and the countless status of millions of citizens of the USSR; a permanent terror, hardships and the crimes of extermination of entire national groups. Well, such is the destination of the innocent little bear "Nicky."

And no matter how strange, how queer it may seem, the mission is being carried out with an enormous success. Little bear "Nicky."

It is quite obvious that the success is not due to the talents of the little bear. No, it is due to the particular talent of the community which he entertains—the talent not to see the truth! The talent to forget everything, all those tragedies of millions of mothers and children in the Russian empire; in the empire of the Russian "Red Bear," to forget and not to see them, being bought with such touching gifts and all kinds of false business propositions. The Christians are going on a pilgrimage to the little bear not because of it being a bear but because it is the gift to the Princess, the child of the English Queen, from the big Russian bear as a token of love and affection for the Queen's children. Another reason for the pilgrimage is the symbol of coexistence.

And who cares or whose business it is what actually is being covered up by the little bear.

So now when the political emigres from all over the world, homeless and shelterless refugees from the Russian communist paradise, are reading in the newspapers here, and millions of Soviet slaves in countless concentration camps of Khrushchev's "paradise" are listening to the radio which tells them how enthusiastic the English leaders are about Khrushchev's little bear and that they are so deeply moved that they don't want even to hear about the sufferings of millions—the mouths of the

(Concluded on Page 8)

Mass Graves in Vynnytsia — Khrushchev's Master Crime

The Soviet Crime of Genocide in Vynnytsia

(Continued from Page 1)

or three freight cars, in the rear. It is no wonder that people kept saying: where swine ought to travel, there are people and where people ought to be, there are swine.

The train moved on toward Vynnytsia. The people with packages, helped one another to get into the freight cars; each found a spot with his package, yawned wearily, here and there a woman wiped away her tears with her sleeve and the train went on.

Just as beautiful and rich as was the Ukrainian land was the wretchedness and misery of the Ukrainian people. The train moved slowly from village to village, from stop to stop. As far as the eye could see, stretched the unending fields or the bluish forest. Amid the fields the villages nestled in the orchards. Again what a contrast between the richness of nature and the miseries of the population! From among the trees peered out the white and dilapidated houses but around them was no wood, no gardens, none of the usual tools in the yards, no cattle. If any animals were left they were being cared for by the Germans. Every time that the train went through a village, groups of ragged children ran out and stretched out their hands and begged in a new manner, — "Please, give us a piece of bread."

Along the rails for a hundred meters on both sides, the German had ordered all trees cut down, so as to give no shelter to the partisans. At the curves earth-bunkers had been built and in them were military guards watching against saboteurs. Everywhere were marks of war.

In the City of Terror and Death

Before noon the train stopped at Vynnytsia, a city of death. The people with their hands got out of the train and they moved without speaking down the broad Boulevard of Kotlyubynsky, then across the well guarded wooden bridge across the Boh and then along the Ukrainian Avenue. No one asked the way; no one showed any interest in people or things. The Ukrainian Avenue turned into the Litynsky Chaussee and there all went. In three places, on this road, in the so-called Park of Culture and Rest on the right side, in the old cemetery across the way and in an orchard some distance off, men had begun to dig mass graves and take out the decomposed bodies of people with their hands bound behind their backs and with bullet holes in the nape of their necks. There were hundreds and thousands of these corpses. Now and again they opened new graves and got new corpses. The terrible stench of the corpses could be smelled a long distance away. From all parts of Ukraine, especially from Podillya, people were coming to try to get news of relatives arrested before the war. In nearing these spots of terror and death in Vynnytsia, they picked bunches of grass by the roadside and held them to their noses and mouths. All Vynnytsia lay under this sign of terror and death and to a degree all Ukraine.

The fact that the tombs were opened and studied during the occupation of Ukraine by a no

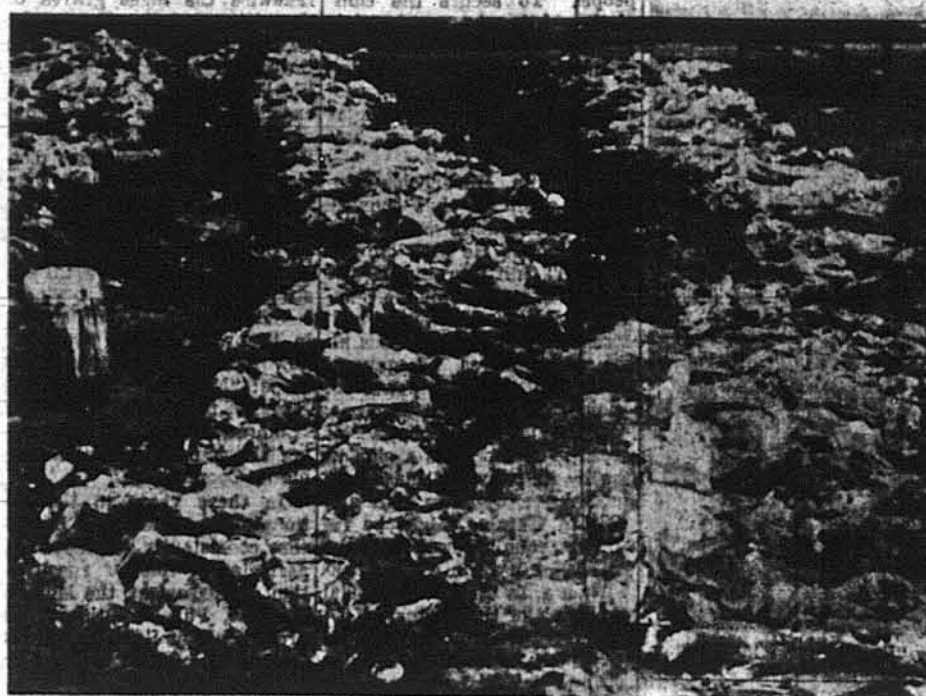
less savage and criminal foe of humanity, the Nazis, does not reduce the Bolshevik crime or the value of the discovery. The Germans committed such crimes but they never showed them or investigated them. — This was proved later in Nuremberg. But at Vynnytsia they studied the crimes of their former Bolshevik ally with typical German thoroughness. There was no need of propaganda, for the crimes did not whisper; they shouted aloud in the most terrible language.

Now for the facts.

The Mad Bolshevik Terror

Millions of people in Ukraine under Bolshevik slavery, remember the thrice cursed famine year of 1933. They have not forgotten the frightening scenes of swollen and starving people and the crowds of skin-covered skeletons on the streets and roads. The state gravediggers could not handle the situation. When they went to a house to take the corpse of a father who had obviously starved to death, they took also the swollen mother and children, so as not to have to come back in a few days, for when swelling commenced, the victim was inevitably doomed. How could they be saved when the village was living on tree bark? There were only the hordes of starving children staggering on their swollen feet and begging piteously — "uncle, uncle, give us something, if only a piece of potato." Those who survived told ghastly and macabre stories of a mother eating her own child or children eating a dying old man or disappearing without a trace. And at the same time in the harbor of Odessa they were loading on steamships 5-7 kilogram sacks of the best wheat flour and sending it abroad as the surplus of the USSR as gifts "to the oppressed and hungry proletariat" of the Western lands as a proof of the Soviet "paradise on earth." And they accepted it and repeated the accursed phrase of Soviet propaganda that "they have come to live better and more cheerfully," a phrase that those people in "paradise" had to repeat when they were dying of hunger.

All this was still fresh in the memory of the people in Ukraine when in 1936, 1937, and 1938 a new wave of Bolshevik terror swept over them. In fact no one knew the day or the hour when before his house would stop the "black crow," the closed black automobile of the NKVD in which millions of people disappeared forever. The "black crow" stopped at the house of the Kolhosp worker, the artisan, the workman, intellectualist, usually at night and the executioners of the NKVD would at once make a search or without a search order the carrying off of the father, the son or at times the entire family. What was the cause of the arrest? The same as that of the famine: — the bloodthirstiness of the Kremlin vampires. All were arrested on the pretense that they were "enemies of the people." The direct pretext might have been the receipt of a card from relatives in Poland, France, America or some other foreign country. Now and then the search revealed a cross, a prayerbook or some



Thousands and thousands of corpses of Khrushchev's victims in Ukraine.

other religious object. In other cases the arrest was due to an anonymous denunciation. Two women started to quarrel and one hinted that the husband of her opponent was an "enemy of the people" and soon the "black crow" would come for him. Or another cause might be jealousy or one's own hopeless position. In the Soviet Union there was always a lack of dwelling places and more than one homeless person got the quarters of a neighbor by denouncing him as an "enemy of the people." The bestial Soviet regime often changed men into beasts. And the "black crow" sped around the villages, instilling mortal fear into the population.

This wave of mass arrests and terror began in 1936 and continued through 1938 and up to the outbreak of the war. There was hardly a family in Ukraine which did not lose a father, a mother, a son or some other close relative. The prisoners were crammed full with these "enemies of the people" who had been condemned without trial. The entire nation was labelled as "an enemy of the people" but that meant the enemy of the bloodthirsty handful of Kremlin vampires and their agents. The arrested could not feel themselves guilty and could not be for they had not disobeyed the orders of the Bolshevik regime of death. The majority of them were simple workers, who had only one goal and ideal in life — to live and bring up their families. For those purposes they worked hard, they worked in the sweat of their brow without straightening their backs but the bloody Moloch in the Kremlin wanted not only their work but their blood. Some of these unfortunate victims were arrested for sabotage, because the swine on the kolhosp did not produce as many pigs as called for by Stalin's Five Year Plan or because a kolhosp horse died but the majority were arrested without even a fantastic excuse.

After the mass arrests the families tried to help the arrested members and in despair they tried to secure "justice" for them but that attempt was itself considered a crime. They tried to find out about the prisoners, they stood for days at the gates of the prison, they went to the offices of the NKVD, naively and in despair they wrote to Khrushchev or to Stalin to help them find and liberate their relatives from prison. In 99 per cent of the cases, they received the answer that the guilt of the prisoner had been proved, that he was an "enemy of the people" and had been sent to a distant camp without right of correspondence. Thousands of witnesses confessed this unanimously. But almost 10,000 of those banished to distant camps without right of correspondence, "enemies of the people" guilty of no crime were later found with arms bound and with skulls pierced by bullets and fractured in mass graves at Vynnytsia. Thousands of others were found in similar mass graves in Zhytomyr, Odessa and other cities in en-

slaved Ukraine and tens and hundreds of thousands of others and perhaps millions are in still undiscovered graves in their native Ukraine.

"Forbidden Zones" of Soviet Genocide

After the death of Kirov and during the mass terror in the cursed years 1937 and 1938, places in many cities in Ukraine were barred from the eyes of the people by high fences, the so-called "forbidden zones." A small section in or near a city was barred off by a high fence, it was closely guarded and people were forbidden not only to look at it but to approach it. No one knew the purpose of these "forbidden zones" but there were many rumors about them. Some said that they were important military installations, others had other explanations, but all thought in terror that in them horrible crimes were taking place, known only to the NKVD. Some were so bold as to climb a tree at dusk in a nearby orchard and try to see inside. Only a few succeeded in catching sight of some deep pits or suspicious "mounds." Later they learned what they were. Such forbidden zones were in Vynnytsia.

In Vynnytsia there were not many people who clearly remembered the earlier history of those spots used by the NKVD to bury its massacred victims. But there were many who remembered and knew the last developments in three places along the Litynsky Chaussee. The first was formerly an orchard belonging to several owners. In March, 1938, after the arrival of Nikita Khrushchev to take over the Soviet regime in Ukraine on orders of Stalin, the agents of the local NKVD began to examine the orchard, to measure it and to draw plans. It was generally assumed that the orchard was taken over by the NKVD. At the same time it was surrounded by a wall of boards, 3-4 meters high and an NKVD guard was set. The guard was changed but was on duty day and night. At times people could hear the growling of a dog inside. It was officially explained that the

guard was set to protect the orchard from children and later that there were secret military preparations going on. There were few who had the courage to try to see what was going on. Some succeeded from a distance and made out a row of pits. Later in the summer the smell of decaying flesh began to spread around and then in one corner of the barred area they noticed a pile of quick lime for disinfection. Many were sure that something secret was being done at night. Trucks closed by curtains with an unseen cargo would come at night from the building of the NKVD and the prison. At times it could be seen how workmen of the NKVD came out with shovels. Whispers began to go round of the crimes committed there but no one dared to voice his ideas aloud or ask for explanations. All were terrified by the NKVD and every one feared that any curiosity would cause him to be taken at night to their building.

Similar actions were going on in an old cemetery and in the so-called Park of Culture and Rest, in which later the NKVD built dancing floors, and swings, planted flowers and prepared the place as a park. Yet under these were thousands of victims of the NKVD. The fence remained around the orchard until the war. Even small cracks in it were stuffed with cloth so as to hide from observers what was going on inside. But during the German occupation in the winter the local people began of their own accord to tear out the boards and use them for heating their cold dwellings.

"The Earth Opened and Hell Appeared"

"The earth opened and hell appeared" wailed one woman, when she saw the opened mass graves in Vynnytsia. She was right for the thousands of corpses of innocent victims of the Bolshevik regime in Vynnytsia showed such a hell as no one could have imagined in his worst dreams.

After the shameful flight of the "glorious" Bolshevik army from the advance of Hitler's

Huns and the change from the terroristic regime of the Red Fascists to the terroristic rule of the brown German Fascists, the population of Vynnytsia began to mention aloud the possibility of terrible crimes in the "forbidden zones." No one informed the German regime of these crimes. Why? All knew that the Germans were accurately following the Bolshevik tactics in Ukraine. For under the Germans only the occupying power and the individual torturers had changed but not their practices. This was evident in all aspects of life beginning with the full power of the police and ending with the general system of government.

It is hard to determine actually the story of the excavation of the graves, for there are various stories. According to the statement of the local population of Vynnytsia it happened on May 4, 1943 that some one dug in the park and found the decayed body of a man with fragments of rotten clothing. The discoverer reported it to the police. Then with police authorization digging was begun and a second similar corpse was found. Then another and another. The local authorities began to be interested and made further excavations under the direction of two local physicians in Vynnytsia, a Ukrainian Doctor Dr. Doroshenko, then court physician in the city and a Russian, Dr. Malinin, Professor of the Krasnodar University, then residing in Vynnytsia. Then when two graves had been opened with 228 corpses, a special judicial and medical commission arrived and took over the direction of the further excavations and studies. A neutral international commission also came to the excavations and many foreign correspondents from neutral countries as well as from the German satellites. The news of the horrible discovery spread throughout Ukraine and people began to come from all directions to Vynnytsia in the hope that they might find some clue as to the fate of some person dear to them.

The Excavations

The excavations were an incredible, horrible sight. Out of the graves they took piles of rotten corpses. The bodies were placed in rows on boards for identification and medical and judicial examination and then they were buried in common graves with the participation of the clergy and the people. The terrible odor of decaying flesh hung over the excavations and the entire neighborhood despite the efforts at disinfection. The graves were opened by prisoners who first took out a layer of decayed clothing which covered the corpses and then hung them on ropes and wires. People walked along these and tried to locate among them familiar articles as an embroidered shirt or some other important article. Gradually the clothes began to disappear. As they say, the living man thinks of living. At night the not completely decayed linen and clothes were stolen, cleaned and patched and sold in the bazaars. Then placards were put up with warnings that the

most severe penalties would be applied to those caught stealing objects from the graves. After this the objects disappeared more slowly but they did disappear.

The recovery of the corpses from the earth was more than horrible. The first layers of bodies which usually lay in complete disorder were handed by the prisoners from one to another and then laid on the grass nearby. At the same time they searched the pockets of the clothing for documents and objects which would aid in identification. Only in a few cases was anything to be found. The lower layers were brought to the surface by ropes. Thus two workmen let down a rope and those in the grave placed the corpse on it and it was hauled up. It often happened that the corpse was torn or the head or some other member came off. Between the rows of corpses and of clothing, people kept walking singly or in groups to look for their lost ones. Frequently a wall of despair sounded over a corpse or a piece of clothing. Some one had recognized a corpse or some object. Those who had lost relatives and had reason to believe they were victims, hung over every corpse and in the stretched and blackened skin on the skull they tried to recognize some dear face. The most pitiable sights were the bodies of women which were usually entirely naked. Good souls covered their shame in death with an old rag. Often one of the visitors would pick a modest wild flower, and lay it on the breast of these martyrs, as they were brought by thousands from the damp earth. And the people kept standing by these graves, praying quietly and only from time to time gasping out terrible curses on the murderers. Yes, the earth opened and hell appeared.

The Results of the Excavations and Investigations

The result of the excavations and the studies made with the liberal participation of the local population and people from other areas and of many witnesses including medical and judicial specialists gave clear proof of an extensive use by the Soviets of the crime of genocide. The final results of these excavations and studies collected in various publications and given by eyewitnesses speak for themselves.

The Sites of the Excavations

As has been said the mass graves were found in Vynnytsia in three places: an orchard, an old cemetery and in the "Park of Culture and Rest".

The first mass graves were opened in the orchard of Doklinky, in the western outskirts of the city about two miles from the center of the place on the right side of the Litynsky Chaussee. The orchard was about 60X100 meters in size,



Khrushchev drinks vodka, but simple people in Ukraine believe him to be a blood-drinking vampire...

unevenly covered with grass and planted with many old fruit trees and some young ones. In the winter of 1937-1938 this was taken over by the GPU-NKVD and surrounded by a board fence about 3 meters in height. This concealed the place from the eyes of the population, as we have said. It was officially stated that behind this fence there were military installations and to avert the eyes of the accidental visitor an artificial gun protruded from the earth.

In the southern corner was found a pit of lime. Afterwards in the harsh winter of 1942-1943 when the population took boards from the fence, small indentations could be seen in the earth. The suppressed speculation of the people and then accidental discovery of some corpses were the direct cause of the excavations. These led to the opening of all 34 pits containing 5,644 bodies. In one pit were only documents, in one only footwear and in one only clothing. The size of the pits was from 2.5X3 to 2.8X5 meters. In only 7 graves was the number of corpses less than 100. In 20 graves there were from 100 to 200 and in 9 over 200. The largest number in one grave was 284.

All the graves were covered with approximately 2 meters of rough earth and under this, with the exception of 3 graves was a layer of clothing. Under these layers of earth and clothing the pit, to the depth of 3 or 4 meters was filled with corpses or in a few cases with intermediate layers of clothing. All the pits were carefully made level with the surface.

While the digging was going on, the population made remarks which led to digging in two other places, in the old cemetery and in the Park of Culture and Rest.

The old cemetery on the left side of the Litynsky Chaussee and only about 600 metres from the center of the city was surrounded in 1937-1938 by workmen of the local NKVD with a high fence over which it was impossible to look. In some places there was also a living hedge about the height of a man. Almost the entire area was covered with the neglected traces of old graves so that the whole surface was

(Concluded on Page 5)

Italian Member of the Vynnytsia Commission Attests to Russian Communist Crimes On Ukrainians

Editor's Note: Through the efforts of Mr. Peter Pavlovich, Vice President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, and Mr. Montgomery M. Green, American newspaperman, Hon. John Marshall Butler, U. S. Senator from Maryland, was able to establish a contact with Prof. Dr. Antonio Cazzaniga, of the University of Milan, Italy, who in 1943 was a member of the Special Commission investigating the mass murder of Ukrainians by the NKVD in the City of Vynnytsia, Ukraine. In a letter dated July 15, 1957, Prof. Cazzaniga wrote to Senator Butler as follows:

"I thank you for your letter of June 28th and I am to furnish you with the information you ask me.

"(1) The facts summarized in your letter concerning the massacre committed by Russians in Vinnitsa in 1938, are correct. I am in the position to point out the total reliability of the text published in the volume, *Antiliches Material zum Massenmord von*

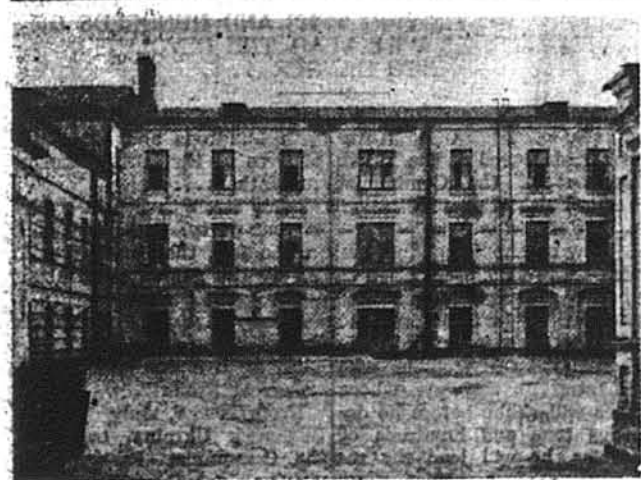
Vinnitsa (printed in Deutschen Verlag, Berlin, 1944, p. 282). In addition, I fully confirm the text of the official report (see ibidem, p. 103), which I signed on July 15th, 1943 as a member of the International Medical-Legal Commission.

"(2) I do not know the necropsy report which, according to your letter, the German newspapers have published in 1934 (?); and that it was signed by me. I only can answer of the truth of the official text, published in the above quoted volume, *Antiliches Material*, etc.

"(3) The technical judgment of the colleagues and of myself was elaborated in absolute material and spiritual freedom: none of us was subjected to any coercion, nor influence, nor suggestion—direct or indirect—by the German authorities. "In my opinion, the Vinnitsa massacre of Ukrainian Citizens in 1938 was and remains one of the most terrific episodes of history.

"Sincerely,

"Prof. Dr. Antonio Cazzaniga."



Building of the NKVD Headquarters in Vynnytsia, center of terror and death.



"The earth opened — and hell appeared..."

THE BLOODY BALANCE

HISTORY OF TERROR PERPETRATED BY KHRUSHCHEV AND SEROV IN UKRAINE IN 1937-1939

By Bohdan Krawciw

During the past forty years of the Soviet regime Ukraine has known many waves of terror and communist persecution, perpetrated by the organs of Soviet internal security, the ill-famed Cheka, GPU, NKVD and MVD, which resulted in the execution of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, and the deportation of equally great numbers of Ukrainian patriots. This terror was steady and systematic during the first bloody years of "establishing the Soviet power" and later on in the middle of the 20's, and then again in the first half of the 30's, when Ukraine was under the iron grip of Commissar Pavel Postyshev, who was brought from Asia and was, from 1934 to 1937, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. But the most violent Russian communist terror in Ukraine was during the era of Nikita S. Khrushchev especially in the first years of his satrap-like rule in Ukraine, in 1937-1939.

These three years are the least known in the history of the USSR, and the official attitude of the Kremlin is to belaud this period of Soviet history, or at least give a false interpretation to the events which took place at that time. This article is an attempt to provide a true picture of that period, an essay based on official Soviet sources of that period, as well as on eyewitness reports of people who survived the terror of Khrushchev.

Stalin Demands Intensification of Terror

Despite the fact that the bloody terror and persecution by the secret police apparatus was steadily maintained by Pavel Postyshev, Russian Communist satrap in Ukraine, and his aide, Vsevolod Balitsky, Chief of the GPU, Moscow failed to liquidate "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" among the Ukrainian people, or the anti-Russian tendencies among the top-notch leadership of Ukrainian Communists. In January, 1937, as reported in Pravda of June 28, 1937, "the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party uncovered mistakes in the party leadership of the Kiev oblast committee and the shortcomings in the work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine." The uncovering of these "mistakes" apparently brought the liquidation of both Postyshev and Balitsky as leaders of the party and state administration in Ukraine by Nikolai Yezhov, Stalin's aide and NKVD Chief, because their names were not mentioned during the congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine (from May 27 to June 3, 1937), nor were they elected to the Politburo of the party.

But the bloody purge of "Trotskyites" and "bourgeois nationalist saboteurs" in the Ukrainian and other republics was initiated by Joseph V. Stalin himself in his address at the plenum of the Central Committee (cf. Bolshevik, No. 7, April 1, 1937), delivered on March 3, 1937, in which he stated that "agents of foreign powers and Trotskyites infiltrated not only the lower ranks, but also some responsible posts," which he considered menacing to the Soviet State. In his final address on March 5, 1937 Stalin demanded that "saboteurs, wreckers and spies must be crushed and eradicated mercilessly as enemies of the working class, as traitors to our fatherland." He concluded his address with a brief sentence to the effect that "everything is clear and no explanations are necessary."

As a result of such a clear and decisive stand on Stalin's part, the Russian Communist Party decided to embark upon a gigantic purge of Ukraine in order to crush and destroy all separatist and anti-Russian tendencies in Ukraine.

Blow to Stalin and Central Committee

According to some historians of communism, such as A. Autokhtonov, a Chechen (cf. his book: Pokorenie parti) and some newspapermen, such as Dedier, Tito's biographer, and Victor Alexandrov (rather biased and unreliable as to sources), Moscow "proposed"

to the Communist Party of Ukraine as far back as at the beginning of 1937 that it accept Nikita Khrushchev as First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Khrushchev arrived in Ukraine with Col. Ivan Serov of the NKVD and began extensive preparations for the liquidation of Ukrainian patriots as well as members of the Communist Party of Ukraine who were deemed disloyal to Moscow.

Khrushchev's first attempt to "take over" the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and get himself elected First Secretary at the XIIIth congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine (from May 27 to June 3, 1937), were futile. True, the Central Committee failed to elect Postyshev and Balitsky, but Khrushchev also was not elected. Stanislav V. Kossior was elected First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine, while M. Khataevych and N. Popov were elected Second Secretaries. The Politburo of the CP of Ukraine was composed of H. Hikalov, V. Zatonysky, S. Kudriavtsev, Panas Lubchenko, Hryhory Petrovsky, E. Prakhmek, K. Sukhomlyn and I. Shekhes. The Organizational Bureau comprised S. Andreev, S. Kossior, S. Kudriavtsev, P. Lubchenko, P. Markitin, N. Popov, V. Poyayko, Z. Svydersky and M. Khataevych. In addition, the following men were elected to the Central Committee: M. Zondarenko, Yevtushenko, Gen. S. Timoshenko, Fedko, A. Chvyly, Cherniavsky, O. Shlihter and others.

Although the Kiev party congress terminated with thunderous applause for Stalin and the party resolutions (cf. Pravda, June 6, 1937), expressed "loyalty to the ideals of Lenin and Stalin" and solidarity with Stalin's policies, Stalin and the entire Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party believed that the results of the congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine constituted a decisive defeat for Stalin in Ukraine.

Immediately after the Kiev congress, both Khrushchev and Serov developed a large-scale program for purging the Ukrainian party and liquidating "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists" throughout Ukraine. Nikita Khrushchev was empowered by Stalin to conduct the purge, although he had no stand or position within the Communist Party of Ukraine. But as a member of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, and as secretary of the Moscow oblast committee, Khrushchev belonged to the closest advisers and lieutenants of Stalin, — in fact, he was fourth in line — after Molotov, Dimitrov and Yezhov, as Stalin's trusted aide.

Khrushchev and Serov — Executioners of Stalin's "Special Assignments"

"Officially" Khrushchev was "elected" First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine only at the end of January, 1938. But as we pointed out previously, there is ample evidence that he acted as virtual dictator of Ukraine as early as the middle of 1937 when he failed to be elected to the highest organ of the Communist Party of Ukraine. In his address before the Fourth oblast party conference in Kiev in the first half of 1938, Khrushchev recalled all those "Yakirs, Balitskys, Lubchenkos and Zatonyskys," who were either executed or compelled to commit suicide during 1937, and stated that "we pinched our enemies substantially" (cf. Bilshovyk Ukrainy, No. 6, June 1938). Another proof of Khrushchev's supervision and direction of the bloody purges in Ukraine is an official statement, which appeared in No. 7 (July, 1938) of Bilshovyk Ukrainy, the official organ of the Communist Party of Ukraine, to the effect that "merciless eradication of enemies — Trotskyites, Bukharinites, bourgeois nationalists and other spying scum began only when the Central Committee of the Communist Party sent in to Ukraine Nikita S. Khrushchev, veteran Bolshevik and Stalinist, to direct the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine" (thus, the purge was started by Khrush-



Hangman Khrushchev and his "Boss" Stalin in 1937

chev before his alleged "election" to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in January of 1938 — B. K.).

To assist him in purging "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists" in Ukraine, Khrushchev enlisted a rising star in the NKVD organization — Col. Ivan Serov, who was "officially" appointed Commissar of Internal Affairs of Ukraine in the second half of 1937 by replacing I. Leplevsky, but who in 1938 was "officially" made Interior Commissar of Ukraine. Some observers report that Serov was directly involved in the liquidation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and in the suicide of Panas Lubchenko, Premier of Ukraine, in 1937.

According to official Soviet sources (Bolsheva Sovetskaya Encyclopedia, Vol. 51), Ivan Serov, born in 1905 in the Volodga oblast, became a member of the Communist Party in 1926, and in 1928 he completed a course at the military school in Leningrad and served in the army, attaining a rank of regimental commander. In 1939 he graduated from the Frunze Military Academy, and from 1939 to 1941 was Commissar of Internal Affairs of Ukraine. This, of course, does not exclude the possibility that he was sent in 1937 by Stalin to organize a blood bath of Ukraine under the general direction of Khrushchev.

The purge of Ukraine directed by Khrushchev and Serov, a purge which amounted to a full-scale genocide, was conducted on all sectors of life in Ukraine. The Russian communist press in Moscow, especially Pravda, led the anti-Ukrainian campaign by attacking all central, oblast and local party organs for their "mistakes, shortcomings and outright sabotage." In July and August, 1937, the pages of Pravda were covered with denunciations of all the party and administration officials of Ukraine by special correspondents, sent to Kiev, Kharkiv, Olesia, Zhytomyr, Dnipropetrovsk and other cities, who uncovered "new nests of enemies and spies." Party officials of Ukraine were accused of "gross negligence and failure in leadership." In the July 17, 1937 issue of Pravda, in article, "Enemies and Their Protectors," openly accused the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, to the effect that "someone from the center is charged with sending enemies to various posts" in the party and state apparatus of Ukraine. Simultaneously the NKVD began mass arrests not only among the Ukrainian people, but among all echelons of the party organization.

Regime of Mass Terror

One of the most eloquent examples of the blood bath in which Ukraine was plunged by Khrushchev and Serov is the barbarous massacre of 12,000 Ukrainians in the city of Vynnytsia in Ukraine, whose graves were uncovered in 1943. All these Ukrainian victims were murdered, as attested to by NKVD execution orders found in the graves, between 1937 and 1939, during Khrush-

chev's reign in Ukraine. The method of execution — a shot in the back of the prisoner's head, while his hands were tied with a rope — was the same; later the same method of execution was used on Polish officers at Katyn, which fact supports the belief that both massacres were directed by Khrushchev's aide Ivan Serov.

Mention should be also made of the fact that prior to the Vynnytsia Massacre Pravda printed a series of attacks against peasants, workers and the party leadership of the Vynnytsia oblast, charging them with negligence and sabotage of party directives. Such vitriolic articles of Pravda, "special correspondent" G. Pevzner, appeared on July 22, 27 and August 12 and September 2, 1937.

Parallel to the mass liquidation of Ukrainian peasants, workers and intellectuals, a thorough purge was conducted in the party apparatus of Ukraine. In a period of less than a year, in the Central Committee, oblast and rayon committees, only a few members remained. All others were arrested, tried secretly and executed or exiled. According to A. Autokhtonov, all 9 members of the Politburo of Ukraine were liquidated, and out of 17 members of the government of the Ukrainian SSR none remained free, and from 62 members and 40 candidates of the Central Committee — only 2 were not arrested. All regional secretaries of the CP were liquidated, as were chairmen of municipal councils, directors of all state enterprises and others.

This purge assumed such gigantic proportions that the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow was compelled in January, 1938, to admit that "in conducting a great work in purging our ranks from Trotskyite-rightist agents of Fascism, serious mistakes and deviations had been made in the process of this operation, which impede the process of purge of the party

НАРОДНЫЙ КОМИССАРИАТ ВНЕШНИХ ДЕЛ

Протокол обыска

Исполнитель: [Signature]

Секретарь: [Signature]

Содержание: [Text]

Итого: [Text]

Подпись: [Signature]

Итого: [Text]

A search warrant dated December 23, 1937, found on the body of one of the victims in Vynnytsia.

KHRUSHCHEV, THE HANGMAN OF UKRAINE

(Continued from Page 2)

ed sector of the anti-Communist national front — to Ukraine to destroy the "enemies of the people." To secure the completion of the victory of socialism, it was to solve the incredibly complicated situation in Ukraine of national, economic and social problems which are even to-day unsolved.

So Nikita Khrushchev appeared again in that country whose inhabitants called him the hangman. He was quickly "elected" first Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine which actually put into his hands all the prerogatives of government and the full power to punish and to spare any one. To the Yezhovshchyna of fearful memory, as a sign of the bloody wave of mass executions performed in 1937 and 1938 in Ukraine might be released equally well by the term Khrushchevshchyna. In the Soviet official handbook of the History of Ukraine it is said of this period: "With the arrival in Ukraine of the close collaborator of Stalin, N. S. Khrushchev, the rooting out of hostile elements and the liquidation of harmful activities went especially far."

As a result of Khrushchev's activity there was destroyed "bourgeois nationalists" the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and the Union of Writers of Ukraine, there were arrested, shot, or deported to camps of death as "bourgeois nationalists" tens of thousands of peasants, workmen and the intelligentsia — priests, teachers, scholars, members of co-operatives and agronomists. According to the assertion of the chief of the section for the Kiev oblast of the NKVD in our months — from November, 1937 to February, 1938, merely in Kiev alone there were

shot more than 10,000 "enemies of the people" (D. Solovey — The Golgotha of Ukraine). Likewise the mass graves of the victims of the Communist terror in Vynnytsia, of which the whole world learned after World War II — were not an exception but the consequence of the hangman's work of the Bolsheviks in merely one district of Ukraine. They were merely one of the many examples of the genocide carried on by the Bolsheviks which it has been possible to reveal and study.

What incredible cynicism lies in the words which we meet now and again in the Soviet press: "N. S. Khrushchev, the friend of the Ukrainian people!"

"Comrade Khrushchev is leading the happy Ukrainian people to Communism."

In these years in the national policy in Ukraine Khrushchev consistently continued and perfected a line of russification carried on by the Moscow delegate, Pavel Postyshev, his predecessor as Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. Every attempt to defend Ukrainian culture and the rights of the Ukrainian language as a state language under the Soviet constitution was treated as a hostile raid of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and was punished by prison and deportation. Under Khrushchev there was formed, and carried to anecdotal dimensions the cult of the "older brother," the Muscovite people, before whom all other peoples of the USSR had to bow, because it was the wisest, the bravest, the most talented, etc. In these years too commenced the unrestrained praising of those historical figures in Russian history which had been previously cursed by the Bolsheviks as Alexander Nevsky, Ivan the Terrible, Peter I, Ku-

khailo Semenko, Mykola Chertynavsky, Vasyl Cherniavsky and many others. Scores of other Ukrainian writers and poets were tortured and murdered in countless Soviet slave labor camps and dungeons.

Suicide of Panas Lubchenko — Premier of Ukrainian SSR

Khrushchev and his chief aide Serov adopted very shrewd and far-reaching methods in order to liquidate all opponents in Ukraine, the leading Ukrainian Communists. Two who were earmarked for destruction were: Panas Lubchenko, Chairman of the People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR, and Stanislav Kossior, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

The method of disposing of Lubchenko especially warrants mention. Being one of the left faction of the Ukrainian Social-Revolutionaries, — Lubchenko from the very inception of the Soviet power in Ukraine sided with the Bolsheviks. Together with others he joined the Ukrainian Communist Party, and after its liquidation he joined the newly-formed Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine, in which he occupied a number of important positions, including the premiership of the Ukrainian SSR. He was an indisputable adherent of the Soviet regime and a docile executioner of Moscow's policies in Ukraine. On July 7, 1937 Lubchenko, as Premier of Ukraine and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, took part in a meeting with Stalin, Yezhov, Zhdanov, Khrushchev, Kossior and Chubar and was a member of the presidium of the 4th Session of the Central Executive Committee (cf. Pravda, July 8, 1937). He took part in the discussion and delivered a speech, in which he "analyzed in great detail election laws in a series of capitalist countries and proved their mentality and exploitation essence" (Pravda, July 9, 1937).

A few weeks later, on September 2, 1937 Pravda broke the news in a few laconical lines as follows:

"Entangled in his anti-Soviet connections and, apparently, fearing responsibility before the Ukrainian people for his betrayal of the interests of Ukraine, the former Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine, Lubchenko, ended his life by suicide on August 30."

In this campaign against the

(Continued on Page 6)



The man is small, but casts a long shadow...

tuzov and Suvorov. There disappeared from the schools separate subjects courses on the history of Ukraine, its economics, culture, even the course of history of the KP(b)U and there were left only the History of the Peoples of the USSR and the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

Instead of the Ukrainization introduced in the twenties, — Khrushchev formed a new form of Russification, an original Red Little Russification, which returned to the policy of Russification used by the tsarist regime for many years but now with a Soviet Communist tinge. The rich and old Ukrainian culture was reduced in Ukraine in its manifestations to the so-called folk artistic independence, where the original creative power of the artists was replaced by a "hopatchok" and the undistinguished propaganda song. Ukrainian literature on the Procrustean bed of socialist realism had to orient itself on Russian literature and the theatre lost its original features. At the same time, while in 1937 83% of the students in the schools of Ukraine were studying in their native language, in 1939 this percentage had dropped to 78. The printing of newspapers in the Ukrainian language fell from 82% to 65% and the printing of books likewise from 64 million copies to 43 million. This was called in the Bolshevik jargon "the development of Ukrainian culture with a national form and a socialist content."

In 1939 Nikita Khrushchev became a member of Politburo of the Central Committee of the VKP(b) and thus became one of the highest level of the Party hierarchy, as one of the closest collaborators of Stalin. In this period he was for a while in Moscow in a "subordinate" post which was apparently a blind where he did work of special importance.

World War II found Khrushchev in the capital of Ukraine, Kiev. He entered the war with the rank of general conferred upon him automatically. He played an active role as a collaborator of Stalin and as a member of the military staffs during the period of the panicked retreat of the Red Armies to Stalingrad. He took part in working out the military strategy in Ukraine and was in charge of the evacuation of the industrial plants and the destruction of food reserves and he actually controlled the Soviet partisan movement in the territory occupied by the Germans. This in its beginning was a purely diversionary action organized in the Soviet underground by specially trained officers and workmen of the NKVD.

After the ending of the war Khrushchev as dictator of Ukraine, undertook its "rebuilding." In the year 1944-1945 under his special direction he

carried out a grandiose purge of "German collaborators," actually the entire Ukrainian people who at the beginning of the war had laid great hopes on Hitler and had refused to fight at the front for the Soviet regime. In the years of this purge there were murdered or deported to concentration camps some three million Ukrainians. Khrushchev carried out these savage reprisals on the people taken during the war who were condemned to death for "treason to their fatherland" or to long years of slave labor in Siberia. He dealt especially harshly with the participants in the anti-German and anti-Muscovite resistance, who in the ranks of the UPA had carried on after 1943 the struggle on two fronts. By several misleading amnesties for fighters in the resistance forces Khrushchev tried to paralyze the resistance but it was only after the making of a treaty with the Polish and Czechoslovak governments for a common struggle against the UPA that the detachments of the NKVD succeed in stifling in Ukraine an armed struggle against his regime.

Khrushchev was primarily responsible himself for the orders for the destruction in the Western Ukrainian lands of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with its episcopate and many of its clergy.

In 1949 Khrushchev returned to Moscow. When Stalin died, whether naturally or not — Khrushchev as a possible successor of the dictator, ranked fifth among the closest "collaborators" of Stalin. Yet "in the days of confusion and panic" he was able to remove from his path his most dangerous competitor Malenkov, so as to deal later in the manner of Stalin with all the others, especially his old chief Kaganovich so as to put a stop to the disadvantageous "collective leadership" and to sit down alone on Stalin's throne.

Khrushchev was for 12 years at the head of the Ukrainian branch of the Moscow Communist Party. So he was responsible personally as the representative of Stalin for all the bloody experiments carried on in Ukraine at this period and they were carried on on his initiative or with his approval. Now the mass resettlement of young people on the so-called virgin lands and in the Donbas for building new mines and so on is the unsuccessful effort to turn the kolchoz villages into the so-called agrocities. Besides all this, he as the consistent supporter of russification is the author of the new school law "approved" in 1959 by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, a law which deprives the language of a nation of 40 million people of the rights of a state language and gives the party bureaucrats a free hand in bringing a national language to the level of a village dialect.

VIACHESLAV DAVYDENKO

KHRUSHCHEV: "WHOSE KNEE WILL TREMBLE BEFORE DESTROYING TENS AND HUNDREDS OF ENEMIES, HE WILL LEAD THE REVOLUTION INTO DANGER..."

Excerpts from the final address of Nikita S. Khrushchev, delivered at the XIVth Congress of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine, in June, 1938:

"Now we should conduct our work toward the eradication of all the remnants of enemies wherever they can be found..."

"Our cause is sacred. He whose hand will tremble, who will stop at midway, whose knees will shake before he destroys tens and hundreds of enemies, he will lead the revolution into danger. Who ever will spare a few lives of

Murder in Vynnytsia

(Concluded from Page 3)

very uneven. After clearing the ground of shrubs, it was possible to make out square depressions of some 10-15 centimeters. After digging through the regular 2 meters of earth in these places, there was found a layer of clothing and under them a mass of corpses. 42 mass graves were opened and in them were found 2,405 corpses. The number of corpses in each grave was not uniform, for it ran from 50 to 147. In only three cases were there fewer — 4, 8, and 12. Only 26 graves could be recognized from depressions. All the others were made carefully level with the surface and some were concealed by ordinary graves. In one case the mass grave was found under the grave of a dead commissar of the NKVD. A strange symbol: From these facts it could be proved that there might be many more mass graves for it was impossible to dig the entire area to a depth of 2 meters.

The mass graves here were on the average smaller than on the first site for they ranged from 1X2 meters to 2.5X4.5 meters. Their depth was also less and ranged from 2 to 3.5 meters. The position of the graves was not so regular as on the first site and the graves because of the sandy soil were not so even and straight as in the clay of the orchard.

Soon after the discovery of the mass graves in the old cemetery, others were found nearby, just across the Litynsky Chaussee in the Park of Culture and Rest. They were opened on the report and information of a former guard in the park. In the park there were old oaks with much shrubbery between them and the rest of the area was covered with grass. These places had been turned into dancing floors, swings for other pleasures for the civilian population. This the Bolsheviks called the Park of Culture and Rest. On the northeast, the park touched directly the former building of the prison of the NKVD. In this park it was still possible with difficulty to make out many fewer square depressions than in the former places. From this the conclusion was drawn that, because of the visits of people to the park the NKVD had later smoothed off the graves. In another part of the park they had later commenced to cultivate, sow and plant berries.

In this place there were opened 13 mass graves with a total content of 1,383 corpses. The number of corpses in a grave ranged from 33 to 144. There was a dancing floor on two graves and on one had been built a "booth of laughter". The Red criminals had compelled the people to dance and laugh on the corpses of their fathers and brothers. This was called the "country of flowering socialism."

The opening of the graves and further investigation here was very difficult for the place was grown up with young trees and these made it difficult to find the depressions. The trees

had been planted on the graves to hide them. Because of the great size of the park there were justified suspicions that there were many more mass graves but it was not possible to dig up the entire area. It was conjectured that there were mass graves also on the spot where the administration building was.

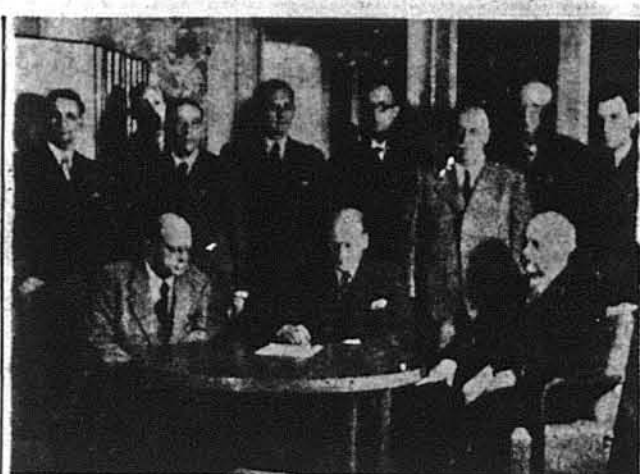
The graves opened here corresponded to the smaller graves in the orchard and were on the average 2.5X3 meters in extent. As in the other cases there was a layer of clothing under two meters of earth and then the corpses. The depth of these graves was in almost all cases 3 meters.

Work at the Excavations

After ascertaining the existence of a mass grave, the workmen removed the layer of earth which covered it. It was found in some cases that the earth had been specially solidified so that it would not make a hollow. In all the graves in all the places was found the layer of clothing which had been thrown in at random and in many cases, especially where it touched the corpses, moisture had stuck it together in a mass. Yet in most cases it was found possible to dry it out and separate it without great damage. Then the clothing was hung by the opened grave so that those interested and the commission could look for special signs which would help in identifying the bodies in the graves. Besides trousers, vest and linen, there was found many winter jackets including leather coats. Among the clothing there were found small bundles with linen, toilet articles, sometimes bread and tobacco. All the pocket books were carefully searched but it was only rarely that any objects were found. When any paper or document turned up, it was carefully dried and handed over for further study. The writing on the papers was usually very legible, although water soaked.

On the first site three pits were found which contained no corpses but objects important for identification, documents, clothing and foot wear. In one of the pits at the usual depth of two meters were found a great number of documents including records of arrests with accurate lists of names, surnames and residences, passports, photographs, addressed envelopes and letters, books chiefly in the Ukrainian language, prayer-books, etc. In the second pit was found only footwear, chiefly of rough leather from animals in which the region abounded. In the third was chiefly linen. In some graves with corpses there were found among the clothing pillows, blankets and even small trunks.

In some of the graves there were scattered corpses above the clothing. These were probably of the men who had buried the corpses and had themselves been killed later. Then below the clothing came the



Members of an international commission representing eleven European nations, who examined the mass graves in Vynnytsia. July 13-15, 1943

mass of corpses. In the larger graves there were alternate layers of corpses and clothing and this meant that the graves were not entirely filled at one time.

The Position and Condition of the Clothing and Corpses

As we have said, the corpses lay in piles in disorder. That meant that they had been thrown in and lay as they fell. Part of the clothing was quite well preserved and part more or less decayed. In many cases the clothing was burned and it was shown in some cases that this was due to hot sulphur or unleached lime thrown in and in other cases by spontaneous combustion due to moisture and chemical processes in the graves.

The recovery of bodies from some graves offered special difficulties. In many graves, especially on the first site there were layers of lime between the clothing and corpses. This had evidently been thrown in later to check the odor when the bodies began to decompose. After some years in the earth the lime and the upper corpses were compressed in one mass. In other graves where lime had not been used, the process was quite complicated. As mentioned, the corpses had been thrown in and allowed to fall as they would, intermingled. In addition — under their own weight and the weight of two meters of earth they had been forced into separate heaps. It was necessary to separate them carefully so as not to injure them. This was not always possible and in many cases only separate parts of bodies could be recovered. In only one large pit had the bodies been laid out systematically and in good order. It is hard to imagine the reason for this exception. Perhaps it was the first grave and the Bolshevik executioners had not worked out an appropriate system.

The Identification of the Corpses

All the male corpses with a few exceptions had their arms tied behind them, often twice. Some had their feet tied. All were dressed in typical Soviet-Ukrainian clothing such as was worn in the region. Usually the male corpses wore a shirt, trousers and vest. In a few cases they also had drawers and undershirts. Of 169 female corpses recovered, 49 were entirely naked. These, according to the medical commission, were all young as was the great majority of the female corpses who were only shirts. This aroused the horrible thought, later confirmed by witnesses, that all these women, before their murder, had been outraged by their executioners. Only the bodies of some older women were clothed. Unlike the men, only a few of these female corpses had their arms bound behind them.

The identification of the bodies was very difficult. It was almost impossible to identify any by their face — may we say. Attention was therefore turned to bodily abnormalities, especially to amputated limbs. These abnormalities were published in the local press and in this way 15 corpses were identified. One woman recognized her husband by his amputated arm, another by the irregularity of one finger and in other cases identification was made by orthopedic shoes. Yet most were identified by documents discovered or by the clothing.

An attempt was made to identify the corpses by the teeth or their condition. This was still more difficult for at the time there were almost no dentists in Vynnytsia who had put in false teeth or could recognize their own work. Identification by this means

was possible only in two cases. It may be remarked that no evidence was found to prove that before or after death they took false teeth from the victims.

The hope of identification by the hair or coloration faded completely for these were entirely changed by all kinds of chemical processes that went on in the earth.

Along with the efforts at identification, the medical commission made every effort to determine the approximate age of the victims. In many cases this could serve as a basis for further medical and judicial studies. This too was difficult but by applying modern medical and judicial methods, the ages could be established almost accurately with slight variations. A great role in this was played by the teeth without regard to their number. For the age of a man can be told not by the number of teeth but by his healthy teeth and their wearing down. In some cases the same results could be secured from folds of the skin of the face, from the ears and by an examination of the entire corpse. On this basis it was determined that the persons whose corpses had been found in all the graves at all the sites and which were studied fell as following:

In the age group from 20 to 30 — 638. In the age group from 30-40 — 4,976. In the age group from 40-50 — 1,366.

The age of the others could not be established even approximately. But we can see that the chief victims of this Bolshevik genocide in Vynnytsia were men from 30 to 40 years old.

Judicial and Medical Establishment of the Cause of Death

All the corpses recovered showed definite signs of shooting and of the placing of the shot in the nape of the neck. There were only a few cases when this could not be established because of the decomposition of the bodies. The bullets were found in the head in the great majority of cases. Most showed signs of more than one shot and in some case there were two, three or more. It was ascertained that 6,360 corpses from all three sites had two shots; 78 bodies showed 3 bullet holes in their skulls and 2 had 4 holes. In the other cases one hole could be found but it was impossible to prove that there were not more. Some corpses had fractured skulls from a hard blow by a solid object, probably the stock of the pistol. Beside the shots in the nape of the neck, some corpses had additional shots in the forehead and the side of the head. Some bullets fired into the nape of the neck only pierced the neck without damaging the brain. A corresponding number of corpses had beside a bullet in the nape strong damaged lips and some had ropes around their necks.

The medical commission carefully studied the bullet, its direction and its consequences. It could be declared certain that not all the wounds were fatal, especially those where the shots did not hit the brain. Many could only have produced full paralysis but they did not deprive the victim of consciousness. In some cases, as was proved by one female corpse, the bullets did not penetrate the skull but were lodged in the skin. In many cases the executioners must have realized this for they shot further bullets or rained heavy blows on the skull to finish their victims off. It was proved that the skull was fractured by such blows in 395 cases. Other studies made it probable that a number of the corpses

were buried alive. This is proved by the fact that the throats and even the intestines of some victims contained earth which they must have swallowed when they were thrown with others into the mass graves. Yet in the majority of cases death was caused by a bullet in the nape of the neck.

Bullets and Weapons

As is usual in judicial-medical questions great attention was paid at the excavations of the Vynnytsia graves and to the skulls of the corpses to determine the nature of the bullets and the character of the weapon. This allowed conclusions as to the commission of the crime and its authors.

As we have said, many bullets were found in the skulls of the corpses and in most cases they were flattened by the impact on the skulls. On the basis of their weight and the holes that they made in the skulls it could be determined that the authors of the crime used hand repeating arms of small calibre. All the bullets were less than 6 millimeters in diameter. In some cases because of their small charge and faulty aim the bullets lodged in the neck under the skin and did not reach the bone. In such cases they kept their original shape which corresponded in weight to the flattened bullets. The diameter of these whole bullets was 5.6 millimeters and the length was 11.2 centimeters. In all cases they were unjacketed ordinary lead bullets. Their weight averaged 2.50-2.52 grams. At the places of excavation, in the graves and the clothing there were only a few cartridges found and in only one case could there be found on two cartridges after cleaning the mark "T-33". This was a cartridge of somewhat larger size and came from an automatic weapon — the Soviet military revolver. The bullet of this cartridge was not found. The presence of a large number of bullets and the almost complete lack of cartridges showed that the victims had not been shot where they were buried with a few exceptions.

An important question was to establish the distance from which the shots were fired into the necks of the victims. In this there is long range and accurate studies of the shot after entering the body. In this case there were certain difficulties because of the long stay of the bodies in the earth. Yet in the majority of cases there were definite marks of burning on the skin and on the shoulders if the shot was fired into the neck below the nape. In other cases there were clear marks of the gunpowder charge on the necks and the clothing. By these and a number of other signs it was established with certainty that the shot was fired into the victim's head from a very short distance. In other cases it was shown positively that the muzzle was touching the victim's head.

Method and Place of Shooting

The actual studies of specialists showed that the shots were fired from a gun held in the right hand and that with some exceptions they were not shot at the place of excavation above the pit or in it. It was also established with certainty that the victims were shot in a standing position.

With some variations there were established two basic systems for the shooting of the victims. In the first case the bullet was fired into the victim obliquely upward so that the bullet would penetrate the medulla. In the second case the victim was shot by a horizontal shot in the neck with the evident intention of breaking the so called atlas, a shot that is also fatal. Studies showed that in both methods of mass genocide the killings were done according to a developed system. The change of techniques was probably dictated by the piercing power of the firing weapon used in each case.

These studies next took up the position of the victims. The mark of the shots and their course showed conclusively that all were shot standing. The oblique shot directly into the brain could only be fired at a standing victim. The small deviations in the direct shots were dictated often by the height of the victim and the executioner. Many corpses had additional shots in the back of the head, the forehead or below in the shoulders. In these

cases it was possible to assume that the victim was prone. What is more, these additional shots showed that at times the executioners often killed their victims by holding them in a bent position or when they were staggering from a first or a second shot. In many other cases, as we have said, the victims were finished by a blow from the pistol.

As regards the place of execution, the results of the commission and the confession of witnesses agree merely that all these thousands of victims with few exceptions were not shot at the place of burial. This was shown, as we have said, by the lack of cartridges at the places of burial. The small number of cartridges found and the presence of some corpses on the layer of clothing which covered the main mass of bodies would show that only some individuals were shot on the spot and that they were probably the men who helped in the burial of the corpses. This made it likely that one or two of the more responsible commissars of the NKVD finished off on the spot the "small fry" from the NKVD who had previously shot the prisoners. This liquidated possible witnesses to the crime and lessened the danger that it would be discovered. The confessions of witnesses and the testing of possibilities confirmed the assumption that most of the victims were shot in the courtyard of the building of the NKVD. On the basis of all these facts, studies and confessions of witnesses the judicial-medical commission could later in great detail trace the course of this crime of genocide. We will come back to this later.

The Binding of Arms and Gagging

Masses of rotting corpses make an incredibly horrible sight but at Vynnytsia it became still more ghastly, because here were to be seen thousands and thousands of corpses with their arms bound behind them and in many cases with gags in their mouths. The binding of the arms showed great skill and a systematic method. First — the arms were pulled behind the back and bound very tightly. In all cases the rope went around the wrists of both arms and in many cases as a result the hands fell off from the corpse. Even from the corpses it could be shown that the binding was very painful to the victims.

For binding the arms there was regularly used a strong factory made rope of hemp fibres. Usually the rope was 5 to 6 millimeters in diameter and 1.20 to 1.30 meters in length.

The same "technique" was used: the arms of the victim were twisted back with palms out. Then they were bound at the wrist by a circle of rope and both ends of the rope, one above and one below were pulled through the opening between the arms, pulled tight and tied in a double knot. This made a double coil around each arm with each hand in a separate loop. It was impossible to free one or both arms, when fastened this way.

In some cases the corpses in the mass graves had their arms bound also at the elbows. For this the same kind of rope was used but it was much longer. In such cases the rope was wound around both arms several times and then around each separately and then tied in a knot. In one case this was done obviously because one hand of one victim had been amputated below the elbow. Others had their arms bound at both elbows and wrists. The reason for the double binding of the victims could not be learned.

Beside the bound arms, 24 corpses had their legs bound. The same rope was used for this as for the arms. The feet were bound above the ankles in the same way as the arms were at the wrists. It could be shown that the legs of the victims were bound before they were taken to the place of execution for it was so done that the victim could take short steps. It was also confirmed that it was only young men whose legs were bound.

In two cases the victims had also a loop of the same cord around their necks. The loops were pulled tight with one end hanging but the medical studies showed that this was not the cause of death. In addition the corpses had the usual marks

Documentary Evidence of Khrushchev's Hand in Mass Murder of Ukrainians

"A GIGANTIC TASK — UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF KHRUSHCHEV TO EXPOSE AND UPROOT THE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE"

(Excerpts from an editorial, titled "XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine," printed in the Communist Party of Ukraine Review, Bilshovyk Ukrainy, No. 6, June 1938, pages 15-24):

"The Communist Party of Ukraine, having completed a gigantic task of exposing and uprooting the enemies of the people, has committed a whole string of political mistakes during that time. The resolution of the January plenary session of the Communist Party of Ukraine states that the Party organization, in the process of carrying out the great task of cleaning its ranks of Trotskyite-Rightist agents of fascism, has made serious mistakes and misinterpretations which hinder the process of cleaning up the party of double-dealers, spies and saboteurs.

"Despicable enemies of the people, who had wormed their way into the leadership of the party apparatus of the Communist Party of Ukraine, who had set themselves the task of defeating the Bolshevik cadres, of sowing uncertainty among Communists, disorganizing the party, had carried on their black, provocative underground work, hid their tracks, compromised the capable, politicaly staunch Bolshevik cadres, brought disorganization to the party work.

"After the intervention of

the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party and the direct intervention of Comrade Stalin, the Communist Party of Ukraine began to correct its political mistakes made during its war with the enemies of the people. The Stalinist Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party gave great aid to the Ukrainian Communist Party, and, to strengthen the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, sent the faithful pupil of Stalin, the staunch Bolshevik, Comrade N. S. Khrushchev. The Bolsheviks of Ukraine, during this period, and especially lately, under the leadership of Comrade Khrushchev, have completed a great task of carrying out the resolutions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party and the directives of Comrade Stalin, to expose and destroy the masked enemies of the people, to intensify party work on all sides.

"In the past (1937—Ed.) year, the Party has achieved a great victory by shattering and destroying the nests of Trotskyite-Bukharinites, of bourgeois-nationalist fascist gangs. The perspicacity and wisdom of our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, the brilliant activity of the famous Soviet investigation Bureau, headed by Stalin's People's Commissar Yezhov... insured the smashing of the most brutal herd of German-Polish Fascism."

"BEAT THEM SO HARD THAT NO ONE ELSE WILL GET THE ITCH TO RAISE A FIST"...

(Excerpts from the speech by Nikita Khrushchev, given at the 4th Party Session of the Kiev Province. Full text of the speech is printed in the review, Bilshovyk Ukrainy, No. 6, June 1938, pp. 6-14):

"Yakirs, Balytskys, Lubchenkos, Zatonkys and other riff-raff wanted to bring Polish lords, landowners and capitalists into Ukraine. They wanted to bring back the rule of landowners and bourgeoisie" (p. 6).

"We have pinched many an enemy... We, comrades, have finished off a good many of our enemies, but a thin layer of them remains with us. Therefore, we must be careful. We should not be lulled by applause nor welcomes, nor unanimous votes. We should sternly remember the words of Comrade Stalin, that as long as we are surrounded by capi-

talists, we will be pestered by spies and saboteurs. "That is why, comrades, we shall carry on a merciless war against enemies, who want to cause hostility among the peoples of our Soviet Union. We shall destroy them as traitors, as enemies of the 'working class'" (p. 13).

"Comrades, I close with the appeal: A closer rallying of our Bolshevik ranks, a sharper clash with the enemy, a harder blow to the Trotskyites, the Bukharinites, the bourgeois nationalists, beat them so hard that no one else will get the itch to raise a fist against the Soviet government, against the working class... Under the leadership of the great Stalin, we will mobilize greater forces for the war against each and every enemy of our country... Long live our leader — the great Stalin!" (pp. 13-14).

"AND WE WILL SMASH AND FINISH THEM OFF..."

(Excerpts from Khrushchev's Report on the work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, given at the XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine in June, 1938. Full text of the speech by Khrushchev, who was the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine at the time was printed in the review, Bilshovyk Ukrainy, No. 7, July, 1938, pp. 1-9):

"The song of the enemies is ended. But their roots remain and it would be entirely wrong and harmful to think that everything has been done. Here and there are still masked enemies, spies of capitalistic instigators, and we should be careful, we should always be ready to fight, ready to smash the spies and traitors mercilessly. And we will smash them and finish them off."

of a bullet in the nape of the neck. In some other corpses there was found a gag of cotton or woolen cloth in the mouth and this was often forced deep into the throat. These victims likewise had bullets in the nape of the neck. We may assume that the ropes and gags were not used as means of execution but merely to silence or even to prevent any outcry of the victim. Every thing leads us to suppose that the victims before death had been savagely tortured.

The Time of the Perpetration of the Crime

Without relying on the documents found with the dead and the confessions of many witnesses which permitted the dating quite accurately of this horrible crime of genocide, the judicial-medical commission tried to date it by a study of the condition of the corpses. They had at their disposal certain data which could be applied with slight change. The decomposition of a body in the earth goes through certain phases with typical signs that determine how long it has been in the earth. In Vynnytsia the greatest difficulty was caused by the fact that the bodies were

in masses in the ground without coffins. The process of decomposition depends upon the depth of burial.

To establish the time during which the corpses had been in the earth, study was made of the bushes on the graves. From their root system and their branches, it could be scientifically shown whether they were grown from seed, or had been planted and if so, when and how long they had grown on the spot. These studies and the testimony of the witnesses and the documents showed that the corpses had been in the earth approximately five years before they were exhumed. The crime of genocide was then committed in 1938 when the controlling person in Ukraine was the present dictator of Moscow, Nikita Khrushchev.

EDITORIAL NOTE

All pictures used in the article, "The Horrible Mass Murder of 10,000 Ukrainians in Vynnytsia," are from the private collection of Mr. Peter Pavlovych, one of the Vice Presidents of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.



Mass graves from which thousands of corpses of murdered Ukrainians were dug out in the city of Vynnytsia, Ukraine.

The Last Time I Saw Khrushchev "Kazna" - A Bullet In the Head

By OLEH LYSIAK

It was a chill, rainy day in the fall of 1939 when I saw Khrushchev. At that time his name meant nothing to me, but I decided he must be one of the great Bolsheviks when, on the anniversary of the "great October revolution" (celebrated in November) I saw him standing on the reviewing stand erected for the occasion on Hetmanski Walls Street in Lviv.

The day was not only wet and cold, but hopelessly sad. Our city, occupied by the soldiers of the Red Army—woe of us, citizens of Lviv, does not remember that day?—had an air of utter misery. Dirty, cluttered with rubbish stinking like the smear of Russian boots, the people listlessly standing in bread lines while the streets teemed with Russian dievushkas in their cheap brightly-colored berets, Lviv was grimly mourning on that fall day of the "joyful feast of the great revolution."

The great majority of those who could not adjust themselves to the smell of Soviet kultura had already gone away, to the West, across the Sian River. Remaining were only those who for various reasons—family, age, health, and others—could not follow the escapes "over the river" or through the so-called "dry border."

And there remained also those who stayed because they did not want to leave the land of their forefathers, who simply believed it was their duty to stay. They did not anticipate that in a short time the first great wave of deportations would come, when hundreds of thousands would be deported to die in the prisons of the NKVD or else out a miserable existence in the far distant concentration camps.

They did not know that many of them would never leave the dreaded NKVD prison in Lontsky Street. Who then could know that their mutilated, bodies, would be found, nearly two years later, in June, 1941, where, on the command of the present guest of the President of the United States, they were murdered by his henchmen of the NKVD?

We did not know that. And many of us even accepted the presence of Bolshevik troops in Lviv with passive satisfaction. After all, we were then in the "Ukrainian SSR," and some of us recalled the words of one of our poets: "Let it be thick, it's all the same if Ukraine is united."

That chilly fall day we were waiting for the parade. I was standing with the workers of the revenue office (Fin-Otdel), awaiting our turn to march before the grandstand built on Hetmanski Walls Street, behind which was a monumental plaster sculpture of some proletarian gods.

Hour after hour passed. We shifted from foot to foot on Dominican Square, occasionally stepping over to one of the taverns then called, according to the Russian custom, Bakalla or Sakuschnaya, singing, once in a while, and not too loud, the witty Lviv songs that ridiculed the new masters. Then suddenly our politruk, tovarishch Shabelnikov, shouted, Stroyasia! That meant we must prepare to march.

At that moment, down the other street appeared a small detachment of school children who had already had their share of parading and were being returned to school under the command of a Russian air force officer. The children were tired, and their politruk tried in vain to make them sing the battle song, "If tomorrow the war..." The weary boys re-



Nikita S. Khrushchev is dressed in the uniform of a lieutenant general, the rank he held in World War II.

mained silent, and one of them murmured, "I had enough shouting 'Urra' for the fat guy on the grandstand."

We moved along empty streets. Market square looked as if the plague had struck, empty, save for a Soviet boyets every couple of yards, standing, a long bayonet on his rifle, sharply looking at every suspicious move. They stared in the windows of the houses, but they were empty too.

From nearby Kilinski Street we heard the loud noise of shouting. The chain of Soviet guards became more tight. The roar "Urra!" "Urra!" became louder and louder, amplified over the loudspeakers, and from time to time we heard "Long live—" and then something not understandable.

Opposite the Galician Savings Bank was the grandstand. I remember that scene as if I were seeing it now—the long row of "border police," the elite guards of the NKVD, twenty or thirty of them, their hands behind their backs, perhaps holding their Nagani pistols. On the grandstand I saw a central figure, among the mass of Russian officials, a fat, stocky man in a dark blue overcoat, with short, gray hair and a potato-like nose.

"That's Khrushchev," my nearest neighbor, the veteran official of the revenue board Councilman Ziferblatt, whispered in my ear. "We ought to shout something for him. You do it; you know Russian."

I silently smiled, not trying to explain to Ziferblatt the irony that only the one who speaks Russian should greet the first man in the "Ukrainian" Soviet republic. But Ziferblatt insisted, "For God's sake, shout, shout! Every detachment shouts some 'Urra,' why don't you? Shout to him, the pest on him!" The rest of Ziferblatt's curses were in Yiddish and I did not understand them.

There was nothing else for me to do. My neighbor on the other side, my friend Natalka, gave me a questioning look. So in the silence I roared, Da sdrastuyet—"Long live"—and then something about freedom from the Polish yoke.

And the fat man on the grandstand, holding his hat in his right hand, raised his left with clenched fist and roared back to me, Da sdrastuyet miravaya revoliutsiya! "Long live the world revolution," and then, "Death to the bourgeois and capitalists! Death!"

"What did he mean?" asked Natalka after we passed the grandstand and the fat man on it. "Who does he want to kill?"

She found the answer twenty-two months later, when

The Ukrainians abroad are facing the shameful fact of the visit to the U.S. of Nikita Khrushchev, Number One criminal, who is responsible for the death of millions of the Ukrainian people and countless victims of other nationalities. Commenting on his visit to this country, which at present appears to the nations enslaved by Communist Moscow to be the only bulwark of freedom, the Rev. Dr. Kennedy thinks that "it is a moral mistake to invite this bloody butcher of Hungary" and that "this Dillinger could only bring harm to this country," while Cardinal Cushing compares his visit to "opening the borders to the enemy in time of war."

Counterbalancing these healthy-thinking representatives of the free Christian world, other Christians think they can make an impression on this devil in sheep's clothing by inviting him to Church services... What naïveté! They think that by sprinkling the devil with holy water he will turn into an angel—he who is preparing to "bury America" and who already sees the next descendants of the present generation of this blessed land, as communists—he who believes in only one religion:—Communist rule of the whole world.

We know Khrushchev from personal observation in 1939, when he was merely the right hand of bloodthirsty Stalin and secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine—when he came officially to announce the already accomplished fact of the "liberation" of Western Ukraine (in fact from one slavery to a greater slavery) and its annexation to the Ukrainian SSR. It is worth noting that then, as it did many times later after similar "liberations" of other peoples, the Communist Party legalized the "liberation" and annexation by means of "the most democratic election of Deputies in the world."

Reflections on these elections may again help open the eyes of the leaders of the free world.

For weeks before the election, a furious pre-election campaign was carried on, although there was no logical need for it, since the list of candidates showed only the names of known or barely known members of the communist party. Meetings were called two or three times a week and they always ended with resolutions containing mostly paeans of praise to the chiefs of the "foremost" land under the sun. Two Commissioners of the city election districts—comm-

among the hundreds of mutilated bodies left by the Russians in the prison she found that of her fiancé, Yuri Sh. Was he a capitalist or a bourgeois?

Today, the same man who shouted, "Death!" to my "Long live!" promising as he always does a deadly menace to the Western world of "capitalists" and "bourgeois"—the same man is visiting us and will be the guest of those he threatens with death. Perhaps that is right, for before dawn comes the greatest dark.

He will shake hands with the President, governors and their wives, and pet their children. Perhaps he will bring a present for little David Eisenhower, a nice present from Russia, perhaps even from Ukraine.

I shall probably not see Khrushchev. My Ukrainian nationality might be an obstacle to my getting into the halls of Congress when the fat man will address the joint session of Congress representing American democracy. But I would like to see him on the rostrum. I wouldn't throw anything at him; I know how much I owe the country that gave us shelter after Khrushchev and his henchmen deprived us of our homeland. But I would like to greet him. Once more, as I did twenty years ago in Lviv, I would like to shout, "Long live!"

And maybe he would recognize me once again, and reply "Death!"

Dr. M. L. Eyewitness

that they were awaiting the arrival of the owner's brother who was a colonel in the Polish Army and, as later was revealed, who would be one of the contingent sent to the mills of death in the terrible Katyn forest. The hosts told me right away that I would have to sleep overnight in their home, the same as some 30 other persons who happened to come to that house on business or otherwise. The whole night was needed to examine personal documents.

Almost automatically, I wrote out a prescription, and in doing so I told the hosts that I was a member of the election committee and that my coming there at such a late hour was dictated by my obligation to send the ballot box to their home, as was the custom at election time. Returning to the kitchen, I met the waiting NKVD men. They told me to sit down—and to spend the night. Only then did I take out my certificate of membership in the election committee, which looked official and attested to my belonging to the election committee. The two held a whispered consultation, then dutifully copied my "lifesaving" document. Then one of them, taking me under the arm and escorting me out, halted momentarily and said "Tovarish, one word of what you saw here and—kazna. He brought me to the gate and let me out, and when I asked outside the gate if I should send the ballot box, he said "Devil take it, it's not necessary!"

Although it was only a short distance to the voting place, I quickly came to the realization of the force of fright and terror which is the basis of the Soviet regime. Why, this happened in the suburbs of the city, where every bit of news, even of the most unimportant event, spread like lightning and everyone knew of it. Yet here 30 people were undergoing nightly interrogation for a whole week in the home of an arrested family, right in my immediate neighborhood and I knew nothing about it! The word kazna (read: a bullet in the head) closed everyone's mouth. I thought of Shevchenko's words: "on every tongue there is silence"

...only then, it was from Moldavia to Finland, and today it is much, much further. I went back to the voting place. Late into the night, until shortly before midnight when the voting was over, they brought in or carried in aged people and cripples to fulfill their voting duty as citizens of the "foremost land in the world." A half-hour later, our Commissioner, who had earlier refused to give us permission to get something to eat, called two of us members of the election committee and on finding out that we were tired, told us to go and rest and he would call us if he needed us.

Around 3 A.M. someone knocked and told us to come to the Commissioner. We then signed the prepared results of the elections. Naturally they were 99.9 percent complete and—more obviously, all the votes were for one communist deputy.

I could not sleep any more that night and many nights after that until I left my native city and began my long and difficult journey to the land of the free, which welcomes every wanderer from the east with the Statue of Liberty...

With the nightmarish kazna, which remained so deeply imbedded in my mind, I also hear the song of the driven, betrayed, bedraggled and hungry, the enslaved and frightened citizens of the "foremost country in the world": "I know of no other land where a man breathes so freely..."



Ukrainian population carries corpses out of the city prison in Dubno, Ukraine, where the NKVD murdered several hundred Ukrainians in June, 1941.

THE BLOODY BALANCE

(Continued from Page 4)

leadership of the Communist Party of Ukraine by Moscow no one was spared: members of the Ukrainian government, chairmen of oblast and rayon committees, all were charged with "sabotage of party directives" and in many cases with "treason."

Significantly, Pravda on August 17, 1937, printed the following:

"The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR confirmed the appointment of V. Chubar, deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, to the post of People's Commissar of Finances of the USSR and released Comrade G. F. Hrynko from duties of People's Commissar of Finances of the USSR, in connection with his transfer to another post."

Lubchenko was not mentioned in this communique, but Hrynko (Grinko in Russian—Ed.) was condemned to death a half year later in the much publicized trial of Bukharin (which took place in March 2-13, 1938) for his alleged "espionage" to the effect that he along with Shumsky, Poloz Blakytyn and Lubchenko, belonged to "a Ukrainian nationalist organization of Bolsheviks who, having infiltrated the Communist Party of Ukraine, developed their work from the viewpoint of bourgeois-nationalist positions."

In reply to a question by Andrei Vishinsky, who was Prosecuting Attorney in the trial Hrynko also named Makymov, Solodub, Konar, Kotsiubynsky, and above all, Panas Lubchenko, as members of the anti-Soviet organization, with Lubchenko being a chief instrument in the creation of a "national fascist organization" in Ukraine, to which belonged also Porayko, and the principal aim of which was the "union of the Ukrainian center with the bloc of Rightist Trotskyites" for the "purpose of separating Ukraine from the USSR and establishing a bourgeois Ukrainian state of Fascist type."

On the basis of depositions of Hrynko in the Bukharin process it would appear that Christian Rakovsky, former head of the Ukrainian-Soviet government (1919-1923), was accused of maintaining connections with German and Japanese intelligence services.

It is certain that these charges, especially against Lubchenko, were false, as Lubchenko, an old Bolshevik, fearing tortures in the cellars of the NKVD, committed suicide together with his wife Khrushchev in his subsequent speeches, denounced as "Fascist traitors" Yakir, Baltisky and Lubchenko, and intimated that Volodymyr Zatonsky, People's Commissar of Public Instruction of Ukraine, and his deputy Andriy Khvylya, were liquidated together with Lubchenko. In December of 1937, on the occasion of the anniversary celebration of the Soviet power in Ukraine, the so-called Ukrainian "Soviet government" was represented by N. M. Marchak, an obscure Ukrainian Communist, who had not been a member of the Lubchenko government.

Treacherous Liquidation of Kossior and Chubar

In a manner reminiscent of Khrushchev's "disposal" of his rivals in the Kremlin, such as Malenkov, Molotov, Kaganovich and Bulganin, Khrushchev liquidated the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, headed by S. Kossior, H. Petrovsky and V. Chubar, except that the latter group was physically destroyed. Upon liquidation of Second Secretaries Khatayevych, Popov and later Kudryatsev,

Kossior, Chubar and Petrovsky were summoned to Moscow, allegedly for "higher posts." Chubar assumed the post of People's Commissar of Finances of the USSR, a post vacated by Commissar Hrynko who was arrested previously. Kossior was not seen in Kiev in the last months of 1937, and the government of the Ukrainian SSR, in celebrating on December 27, 1937 the 20th anniversary of establishing of the Soviet authority in Ukraine, sent him a greeting together with those to Stalin and Chubar. Kossior officially still was First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine at that time.

On January 12, 1938 Kossior took part, along with H. Petrovsky, Khrushchev and the new Premier of Ukraine, D. Korotchenko, in the first session of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow, and glorified Stalin. At the same session, on Jan. 17, 1938 Vlas Chubar was appointed First Deputy Chairman of People's Commissars of the USSR and Kossior was made not only his alternate, but also chairman of the Commission of Soviet Controls. Both of them allegedly attained the highest levels of the Soviet government only to be ruthlessly liquidated two months later. Both Chubar and Kossior disappeared some time between January 17, 1938 and March 22, 1938, when at the plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party a new Central Committee was elected, to which neither Chubar, Kossior or Petrovsky were elected. Chubar and Kossior were reported liquidated in 1939 in one of the Soviet slave labor camps, while Petrovsky survived and in 1956 was "rehabilitated" and restored to the status of "Old Bolshevik" by the same Khrushchev who ordered his liquidation.

The installation of Khrushchev as official boss of Ukraine was effectuated by two official acts: 1) by a decision of the January 1938 Plenum of the Central Committee about the removal of P. P. Postyshev from the state of candidates for the Politburo and about the appointment of N. S. Khrushchev and 2) by a decision of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine of January 28, 1938 to the effect that "in connection with the transfer to other post the Plenum released S. V. Kossior from his duties as First Secretary and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine" and "elected to the post of First Secretary N. S. Khrushchev."

"Purged" Communist Party of Ukraine in "Expurgated" Ukraine

In assuming the formal status of First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Khrushchev continued the "liquidation of remnants of enemies wherever they could be found" (cf. his address at the XIVth congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine in June, 1938). The XIVth congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, which took place in June 17, 1938, was totally dominated by Khrushchev. Its presidium, in addition to Khrushchev, comprised Burmistenko, Korotchenko, Uspensky, Gen. S. Timoshenko, Shcherbakov, Smirnov, Riaboshapka and others. At the plenum of the Central Committee which met after the congress, Khrushchev was elected First Secretary, and Burmistenko, Second Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, while the Ukrainian Politburo included all members of the presidium of the congress with the exception of Smirnov. The full membership of the Central Committee which was to include 60 members and 27 candidates, was not revealed. At the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, held on May 17, 1940 Khrushchev was reelected First Secretary, while Burmistenko and Korotchenko obtained the posts of Second and Third Secretary, respectively.

Members of the Politburo of the CP of Ukraine were elected as follows: Khrushchev, Burmistenko, Korotchenko, Hrechukha, Korniyets and Serov, while S. Zedionchenko and M. Lubanin were elected candidates. To the Organizational Bureau of the CP of Ukraine elected were O. Yenishev, Y. Khomenko, and candidates—M. Kvasov, L. Kolibanov and Z. Serdiuk. If one compares the composition of these organs with those of 1937, the first thing that strikes the eye is the total absence of any prominent Communist who was in the Central Committee of the CP of Ukraine under Kossior. The other significant fact was the presence of Col. Ivan Serov in the top-notch leadership of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

In the period between these congresses of Khrushchev's systematic and brutal "eradication of enemies of the people" in Ukraine was going on relentlessly. The extent and intensity of the purge could never be ascertained. In all his speeches and public declarations in 1938-1939 Khrushchev continuously called on the NKVD to "Beat the enemy so as to discourage him to raise his head," or "We will kill them to the last man," and the like. Even the closest collaborators of Khrushchev have not escaped his punitive and revenging hand. M. Burmistenko, former close political ally of Khrushchev and Second Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine in 1938, had to flee abroad and is now living as a refugee in Australia. In announcing "merciless liquidation of enemies of the people," Khrushchev always glorified the "great Stalin," the same Stalin whom he degraded as a bloodthirsty tyrant at the XXth Congress of the Communist Party in February, 1956. In his address to the XVIIth congress of the Communist Party on March 10, 1939 Khrushchev gave a detailed picture of liquidation and destruction of "enemies of the people," and warned that "all who will attempt to reach for the land of the free-dom-loving Ukrainian people, will meet the fate of cruel bourgeois nationalists, the curse and destruction by the people as mad dogs" (cf. Bilashovky Ukrainy, Nos. 5-6, May-June, 1939, pp. 534-541). A recognition of Khrushchev's successful liquidation was expressed by the official publication of the Communist Party of Ukraine (cf. Bilashovky Ukrainy, Nos. 6 and 7, June-July, 1938), and in the report of his aide, Col. Ivan Serov, (the same Serov whom Khrushchev put in charge of the NKVD in 1933 after the execution of Beria), which he presented to the XVth congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine in May, 1940.

Khrushchev—Real Dictator of Ukraine

As a real dictator and ruthless master over the enslaved Ukrainian people Khrushchev remained for the whole 12 years, and it was Khrushchev who was responsible for all major genocidal policies in Ukraine.

As a matter of historical record, Khrushchev is directly and personally responsible for the following major crimes committed against the Ukrainian people:

In 1939-1941 Khrushchev and his assistant-hangman Serov liquidated almost the entire leading elite of Western Ukraine by indiscriminate execution of hundreds and thousands of Ukrainian patriots in the prisons of Lviv, Lutsk, Dubno and other cities of Western Ukraine, which crimes were committed with the typical accuracy and precision known to be practiced by Serov.

In 1941, before the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, Khrushchev ordered a wholesale massacre of the Ukrainian people, a massacre which cost some 400,000 Ukrainian lives; in 1944 Khrushchev conducted a second, bloody purge of Ukraine, under the pretext of "punishing German collaborators," with some 3,000,000 Ukrainians, either imprisoned, sent to Siberia or executed.

In 1945-1946 Khrushchev conducted mass reprisals against those peasants and workers who were taken to slave labor in Germany by the Nazis and who were repatriated to Ukraine. All were either executed or sent to slave labor camps.

Khrushchev was also responsible for the brutal murder of members and their families of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in order to destroy the Ukrainian anti-Soviet resistance movement.

Such is the bloody record of Nikita S. Khrushchev, one of the most brutal dictators ever known in the history of mankind.

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Corpses of murdered Ukrainians in the backyard of the NKVD prison on Lontsky Street, Lviv, Western Ukraine, June, 1941.

BUY U.S. SAVINGS BONDS AND SAVE!

George Wolynetz Elected Head of Ukrainian Professional Society - Dmytro Halychyn Chosen as "Ukrainian Man of the Year"

ROCHESTER, N.Y.—The Ukrainian Professional Society of North America, which was founded along with the Ukrainian Youth League of North America in 1933 and has ever since held its meetings simultaneously with the UYL-NA, elected as head for the coming year the well-known New York attorney and leader, the present Commander of the Ukrainian American Veterans, George Wolynetz, Jr. Dr. Michael E. Lutyk of Toronto was elected vice-president, while Miss Pauline Dyke and Miss Alice Shipka, both of New York, were re-elected secretaries.

The meeting was opened by John H. Roberts, attorney of New York, the outgoing president of the Society. One of the principal matters under the discussion was the proposal advanced by Mr. Roberts to form a Congress of Ukrainian Professionals which would encompass all professional classes of Ukrainians in the United States and Canada, such as physicians, veterinarians, engineers, lawyers, teachers, journalists and others. In the discussion of this

Ukrainian Youth League of North America Holds Its Annual Convention Over Labor Day Weekend - W. Bodnar Elected New President

ROCHESTER, N.Y.—Scores of delegates representing over 65 youth organizations and clubs from various States of the Union and Canada met over the Labor Day weekend at the Manger Hotel in Rochester, N.Y. for the 24th Anniversary Convention of the Ukrainian Youth League of North America (UYL-NA). The UYL-NA was founded in 1933 in Chicago, Ill., and has been a rallying cultural center of the Ukrainian American and Ukrainian Canadian youth.

The Ukrainian National Association, Svooboda and The Ukrainian Weekly, which have always supported and assisted the League, were represented at the Rochester Convention by several officers, namely, Dmytro Halychyn, UNA President, Joseph Lemawyer and Mrs. Anne Herman, UNA Vice President and Vice Presidentess, respectively; Dr. Jaroslaw Paduch, UNA Recording Secretary; UNA Advisers Peter Pucilo and Andrew Julia, and editors Anthony Dragan and Walter Dushnyk. Another UNA Adviser, William Hussar, a native of Rochester, was Chairman of the UYL-NA Convention Committee.

The three-day program of the Convention consisted of reports by Taras Szmagala, League President, and other officers of the League: Myron Kuropas, Joanna Draginga, Walter Bodnar, M. Wichorek, Dolores Novitch, V. Sosnovsky and others.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America was represented by John H. Roberts and John O. Flis, both attorneys from New York, while the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee and the Ukrainian American War Veterans were represented by Michael Piznak and George Wolynetz, Jr., respectively.

most cases, a decisive role. Practically, said Mr. Roberts, Mr. Halychyn was during the last quarter of a century, almost every year "the Ukrainian Man of the Year" and so the Ukrainian Professional Society of North America has now formally awarded him that honor which it has previously paid to the late Dr. Luke Myshuha, the Canadian Minister of Labor Michael Starr and the well-known TV winner Dr. Alexander Sas-Yavoraky.

In receiving this high distinction, Mr. Halychyn spoke principally of his pride in being a member of the Ukrainian people and of his own satisfaction in the possibilities of serving them here in this country and elsewhere.

Toastmaster of the evening was William Andriushyn, attorney of Rochester. Vice Mayor of Rochester Joseph Farbo was a guest speaker, while Father Voliansky, pastor of the local Ukrainian Catholic Church said the invocation before the banquet.

both attorneys also from New York.

New Officers of the League

W. Bodnar of Newark, N. J. was elected the new president of the Ukrainian Youth League of North America. Other new officers are: Myron Kuropas of Chicago—first vice president; Mary Bukartyk of Cleveland—second vice president; Roy Mandzuk of Toronto—Canadian vice president; Zenia Stechishin, Toronto—recording secretary, and Jerry Bobechko of Cleveland—financial secretary. Others elected to the advisory board of the League were Michael Lepak of Auburn, N.Y., Al Danko, North Bergen, N.J., Joe Yaworsky, Valley Forge, Pa., and John Kuchmy and George Turiansky, both of Rochester, N.Y.

Other features of the UYL-NA Convention were welcome and farewell dances, a banquet, a cultural festival presented by Ukrainian Canadian choral and dance ensembles from Toronto, and the selection of "Miss Ukraine."

Miss Georgette Hudock, 19, of Roselle Park, N.J. was chosen "Miss Ukraine" of North America, while Miss Oksana Krychuk of Rochester, N.Y. was chosen her alternate.

Hon. Samuel S. Stratton, Democrat of Schenectady, and the Vice Mayor of Rochester Joseph Farbo addressed the UYL-NA Convention.

Over 350 delegates and guests attended the banquet Sunday night, at which Joseph Rodio, Secretary of the Borough of Ambridge, Pa. was toastmaster.

A series of resolutions was adopted at the Convention, one of which called on the Ukrainian American and Ukrainian Canadian youth to boycott any receptions or meetings in honor of Nikita S. Khrushchev and to wear black armbands of mourning for the millions of Ukrainian victims murdered by Khrushchev in Ukraine.

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ПОМИНАЛЬНА СЛУЖБА БОЖА В ПЕРШУ РІЧНИЦЮ СМЕРТІ нашого Незабутнього МУЖА й БАТЬКА бл. п. д-ра Олександр ДЕРЕША буде відправлена в НЕДІЛЮ, 20-го ВЕРЕСНЯ 1959 р. в год. 11:00 перед полуднем в церкві св. ЮРА. ПАНАХИДА за душі Покійного відправиться в П'ЯТНИЦЮ, 18-го ВЕРЕСНЯ 1959 р. в год. 8:00 вечора в церкві св. ЮРА. Рідних, Приятелів та Знайомих просимо долучитися молитвами. Дружний ПРИНА. А. ДІМ

В п'ятницю, 18-го вересня 1959 р. в год. 8:00 вечора в катедрі Св. Володимира в Нью Йорку (160 Заліз 88 вул.) буде відправлена ПАНАХИДА за душі Героїв і Мучеників Українського Народу — жертв комуністичної тиранії. Панахиду очолює: Віпросян. Владика Митрополит ЮАН. Просимо про найбільш численну участь у цій Панахиді всіх Братів і Сестер України та Представників усіх Українських Організацій, з їхніми організаційними прапорами. КОНСИСТОРИЯ ПРАВОСЛАВНОЇ ЦЕРКВИ в СІАМЕРІКІ 1894 — 1899 — 45 РОКІВ НА СЛУЖБІ ЧЛЕНАМ І НАРОДОВІ НАРОДНОГО СОЮЗУ! СТАВАЙТЕ ЮВІЛЕНТАРИ ЧЛЕНАМИ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО

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В ПРОТЕСТНИХ ПОХОДАХ — ПІКЕТУВАННЯХ та ВІЧАХ у Нью Йорку, у зв'язку з приїздом катя України — Хрущова.

РЕЛІГІЙНА ЧАСТИНА у місцевій українській церкві св. Петра і Павла відправляти за душі мільйонів жертв комуністичного терору в П'ЯТНИЦЮ — ПОНЕДІЛЮ, 18-го і 19-го ВЕРЕСНЯ в год. 1:30 вечора МОЛЕБЕНЬ І ПАНАХИДА в НЕДІЛЮ, 20-го ВЕРЕСНЯ в год. 12:30 по останній Службі Божої ПАНАХИДА

Т-во Українських Інженерів Америки Відділ в НЬО ЙОРКУ

Український Літ.-Мистецький Клуб у ФІЛАДЕЛФІ

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що відбудеться

в СУБОТУ 19-го і в НЕДІЛЮ 20-го ВЕРЕСНЯ 1959 Р.

в Нью Йорку, на величезному міському спортовому стадіоні

RENDALL'S FIELD, на Rendall's Island on the East River, Triboro Bridge and East 125th Street

СУБОТА — год. 10:00 рано: Святоче Відриття Здвигу й Спортові Елімінаційні Змагання;
год. 8:00 вечора: У театральній залі Junior High School Avenue "B", між 5 і 6 вулицями в Нью Йорку, — ВЕЧІР МІСТЕЦЬКОЇ САМОДІЯЛЬНОСТІ;

НЕДІЛЯ, — год. 1:00 по пол.: на спортовому майдані ФІНАЛЬНІ СПОРТОВІ РОЗГРИ;
год. 3:00 по пол.: ДЕФІЛЯДА Молодечих Організацій, в одностроях, із прапорами, МІСТЕЦЬКІ ВИСТУПИ Молодечих Організацій. ПРОТИХРУЩІВСЬКА МАНІФЕСТАЦІЯ з промовами губернатора Рокефеллера, комішенера Морея, проф. Л. Добрянського і през. Д. Галичина.
год. 5:00 по пол.: Виїзд міськими автобусами на сивер при 42 вул., між 5 і 6 Еве., звідки виїде МАНІФЕСТАЦІЙНИЙ ПОХІД до 57-ої вулиці, до Карнегі Голл, на віче всіх поневолених Москвою народів.

УКРАЇНЬСЬКА МОЛОДЕ ! ВСЮ ТЕБЕ КЛИЧЕМО НА СТАРТ І ДО ДЕФІЛЯДИ В ОДНОСТРОЯХ І З ПРАПОРАМИ !
УКРАЇНЬСЬКІ ГРОМАДЯНИ ! ВСІХ ВАС БЕЗ ВИНЯТКУ КЛИЧЕМО НА МАЗЕПІНСЬКИЙ ЗДВИГ, А ПЕРЕДУСІМ НА ПРОТИХРУЩІВСЬКУ МАНІФЕСТАЦІЮ — В ГОД. 3:00 ПО ПОЛУДНІ НА РЕНДАЛС ФІЛД ТА В ГОД. 5:00 ПО ПОЛУДНІ ДО МАНІФЕСТАЦІЙНОГО ПОХОДУ ВУЛИЦЯМИ НЬО ЙОРКУ !

Нехай не буде нічого поміж нами, що не виконав би цього національного обов'язку й збирав та публічно не заманіфестував би нашої вірності державній ідеї великого Гетьмана МАЗЕПИ та нашого спротиву проти відділи катя України у цій вільній американській країні !
Українська еміграція зберігає вірність, зайнявши великого Гетьмана у 250-ліття його виходу на еміграцію ! Ваша прихильність на цих маніфестаціях докаже цю вірність !

APPEAL OF THE UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

AMERICANS!

Nikita S. Khrushchev, the notorious "Hangman of Ukraine" and former pupil of Stalin, has come to the United States on a state visit. Much depends on how the American nation receives him.

For Khrushchev is not an ordinary visitor from a civilized state.

This short, round man with a ready laugh is the actual perpetrator of crimes of genocide against the Ukrainian people. He is personally responsible for the mistreatment, deportation and outright slaughter of millions of Ukrainians. He is guilty of the wanton destruction of the Ukrainian Orthodox-Autocephalic Church and of the brutal suppression and liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine in 1944-46.

The blood of his victims is ever fresh on his hands. In the 30's, Khrushchev was the chief instigator of the liquidation of the Ukrainian anti-Moscow Communists. Teaming up with Molotov and the sadist Yezhov, he subjected Ukraine to a bath of blood and terror.

Smiling Nikita was in charge of liquidating the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Ukraine), an anti-Nazi and anti-Communist Ukrainian underground resistance movement, and was responsible for the brutal killing of children, women and old folk whose kin fought in the patriotic Ukrainian force.

He engineered the genocidal project of the resettling of the "virgin lands" of Kazakhstan in 1954-55. To this Asiatic area he ordered hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, Byelorussians and the peoples from the Baltic states, condemned to perpetual slavery and Russification.

In 1954-1955, long after the death of Stalin, Khrushchev ordered the barbarous suppression of the strikes of Ukrainian political prisoners in Vorkuta, Mordovia and Karaganda, and he is personally responsible for the murder under the tread of tanks of 500 Ukrainian prisoners in Kibir in 1954!

THE TRUE NATURE OF THE "HANGMAN OF UKRAINE"

Upon his return from the Soviet Union, the American Vice President appealed to the American people to treat Khrushchev with the same courtesy and friendliness with which he was treated in the USSR. Mr. Nixon has every right to urge fellow Americans to be polite. But no man has the right to equate the attitude of the peoples of the USSR toward an official of a free country with the attitude of the American people toward a dictator like Khrushchev.

Vice President Nixon is a chosen representative of a free society, while Khrushchev is a dictator, representing a godless tyranny which rules and dominates some 300 million people. To accept Khrushchev is to deny everything that we hold dear.

The true face of Khrushchev can best be seen in the brutal and inhuman acts he committed in Ukraine against the Ukrainian people:

(1) As a minor Communist official he played a leading role in the Moscow-made famine in the early 30's, in the horrendous course of which some 6 million Ukrainian peasants died from hunger and starvation.

(2) As Stalin's emissary in Ukraine in 1937, Khrushchev liquidated the entire organization of the Communist Party of Ukraine: Out of 62 members and 40 candidates of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine only two escaped arrest and execution, and out of 17 members of the government of Ukraine not one remained free or alive. All regional secretaries of the party were liquidated as "bourgeois nationalists" and "enemies of the people."

(3) In 1937-38, as Stalin's trusted man in Ukraine his hand was visible in the genocidal murder of 10,000 men and women of the city of Vynnytsia, Ukraine;

(4) He also played a vital part in the destruction of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalic Church and in the liquidation of the Ukrainian intellectual elite.

(5) During World War II as security general of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Ukraine), including the eradication of their families as well.

(6) In 1945, together with Molotov, Khrushchev ordered the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine, in the course of which over 3,000 Ukrainian Catholics were either deported, executed or forced to accept a spurious Orthodox Church dominated by the Kremlin.

(7) He was instrumental in the vast "resettlement projects" of the non-Russian peoples in Kazakhstan, whereby he contributed again to the unending genocide and extermination of the non-Russian peoples.

(8) Khrushchev was to man in the so-called "collective leadership" in 1954 when the Kremlin ordered the brutal massacre of Ukrainian political prisoners in Vorkuta, Norilsk, Mordovia and Karaganda.

AMERICANS!

This is the man who is enjoying hospitality on free American soil! In our midst is the man who suppressed the Hungarian freedom revolution with a brutality typical of the regime he helped to establish and which he now heads.

AMERICANS!

Would you have invited Hitler in 1940 or earlier to come as a guest of the American government and its freedom-loving people?

Would you invite a known murderer to your home for a friendly and civilized discussion?

We appeal to you to show Khrushchev that the American people know him for what he is and know what brings him to the shores of this free land.

Treat him coolly! Give him no sign of welcome! Turn your back when he passes by!

WEAR A BLACK BAND OF MOURNING FOR THE PEOPLE HE MURDERED IN UKRAINE, GEORGIA, ARMENIA, BYELORUSSIA, POLAND, LITHUANIA, LATVIA, ESTONIA, EAST GERMANY, TURKISTAN, SOUTH KOREA, HUNGARY AND TIBET!

Tell your Senator and Congressman to ignore him! Tell your Governor not to invite him to your State! Tell your Mayor not to receive him at the City Hall!

Ask your parish priest to toll the bells and say prayer for the countless millions who perished at the hands of Khrushchev, the "Hangman of Ukraine" and the "Butcher of Budapest!"

Some of those who are uninformed and some appeasers will tell you that we have to welcome the murderer of the Kremlin with flowers and open arms, lest we provoke his ire and incur an atomic war!

BUT KHRUSHCHEV IS AFRAID OF WAR! THE UNITED STATES IS MUCH STRONGER THAN THE SOVIET UNION, RIDDLED WITH INTERNAL STRIFE, CAN EVER BE!

AMERICANS!

Khrushchev is the very symbol of tyranny and enslavement! Not long ago he threatened "I will bury you." Remember his words. He is a dedicated enemy of the United States and of the free world at large, and seeks your enslavement and the destruction of our freedom and civilization. No means are too lowly, no device is too cynical for him to employ.

SHOW HIM THAT AMERICA IS A CITADEL OF FREEDOM AND WILL HAVE NO TRUCK WITH ANY GENOCIDIST AND ENSLAVEMENT!

America, our home, must remain what it is — to rebuff Khrushchev is to bless it and what it will eternally signify.

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

Appeal to the Ukrainian Catholic Clergy by the Bishop of Stamford the Most Rev. Ambrose Senyshyn

(On the occasion of the visit of the Soviet Premier to the United States)

Bishop Ambrose Senyshyn introduces his appeal to his clergy with the words of Our Divine Saviour, "There is no need to fear those who kill the body, but have no means of killing the soul; fear him more, who has the power to ruin body and soul in hell." (Mt. X:28). "Our Ukrainian Catholic Diocese of Stamford," says His Excellency, "appeals at this time to the Reverend Clergy to consider not only the person instrumental in the leveling of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and people, but rather the destructive Communist system which nurtures that reed of man. . . . Russian Communism kills the body and the soul. Can anyone count the millions who died at the hands of the Communist butchers? Let us take a look at the Ukrainian lands behind the Iron Curtain and we will see how many young souls Communism is poisoning. To this destructive end these atheists are employing grammar and high schools, universities, the theater, cinema, the press, literature, radio, television. . . . We accuse the Communist rulers who have deported millions of our people to Siberia and other distant lands, depriving them of their Churches and religious services and forbidding the youth to learn their faith." His Excellency further warns his faithful of the fifth columnists who even here attempt by various means to undermine our religious and social life. To his effect His Excellency quotes the great Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky who in a similar situation, in his pastoral letter of 1938 warned his faithful of the "wolves in sheep's clothing."

"We need," concludes the Most Reverend Bishop, "to work at the religious education of the faithful with even greater zeal, imploring God that He would preserve our faithful in the free world from atheistic poison. In our prayers we must not forget our brothers and sisters who are suffering from Bolshevik enslavement. . . . For his reason the Bishop's Chambers of Stamford proclaims a period of general prayer beginning Thursday, the 17th of September and ending Sunday, September 20th."

PROGRAM

Thursday, Sept. 17, 1959: The Sixtieth Anniversary of the

Episcopal Consecration of the Servant of God, Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky. Evening: Celebrate a Moleben for the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian People behind the Iron Curtain. Deliver a short, appropriate sermon. Recite together with the faithful three Our Fathers and three Hail Marys for this intention.

Friday, Sept. 18, 1959, evening: Celebrate a Moleben of Thanksgiving that God would deliver and preserve us from Bolshevik enslavement. Pray that God would protect our youth from Atheism both in their native land and here in America. Deliver a short appropriate sermon and pray together with the faithful three Our Fathers and three Hail Marys for the intention of our youth.

Saturday, Sept. 19, 1959, evening: Celebrate a Moleben imploring God to protect our American nation from Communist machinations and that our faithful would be religious and patriotic citizens of this country and also good Ukrainians.

Sunday, Sept. 20, 1959: Recite together with the faithful three Our Fathers and three Hail Marys for the persecuted Church and for the Ukrainian people under the Russian yoke. (Here it would not be amiss to remember that Metropolitan Slipko was again imprisoned only because he preached the Word of God to his faithful by means of a pastoral letter.) At 4:00 P.M. celebrate a Moleben for the intention of religious and political freedom for our Church and people behind the Iron Curtain. Deliver a short appropriate sermon. Panakhyda for all the Ukrainian martyrs who met their death at the hands of Communist fillets.

Heartfelt prayer to God is the most effective weapon against evil. Therefore, let the Reverend Fathers properly prepare and encourage their faithful and especially the youth to take part in the above services and receive the Sacraments for the intentions stated. Invite to these services the faithful, the organizations, and societies. Do not be discouraged by the small number of faithful who attend, but conduct the services fervently.

AMBRÓSIO SENYSHYN Bishop of Stamford

Ukrainian Metropolitan Slipko

Condemned Again to Seven Years of Hard Labor

EDMONTON, Canada.—The local Ukrainian weekly, Ukrainski Visti, published in its number for August 17, 1959, the following announcement: "In Kiev for three days here was held a trial of Metropolitan Kyr Joseph (Slipko) and he was again condemned to seven years of hard labor in a concentration camp. The news came in a private letter from Ukraine from a person who is interested and knows well the position of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the USSR. Former reports that have reached Canada from this person have always proved true. The letter written at the end of July, says: 'Uncle Joseph was on trial for three days in Kiev. It tortured him a long while. He was condemned to seven years of labor and training camps for the underground organization of the Greek Catholic Church. He is very thin, his beard is completely gray and his head bald. . . . There had been formerly vague reports that Metropolitan Slipko had had to write a letter with pastoral instructions for the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which was forcibly liquidated by the Soviet regime. The Most Rev. Kyr Joseph, born February 17, 1892, was the successor of the late Metropolitan Andriy (Sheptytsky). He was ordained a priest October 30, 1917. Up to the outbreak of World War II he was Rector of the Theological Academy in Lviv and was one of the most prominent Ukrainian theologians. During the first Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine (1939-1941), on December 22, 1939, he was consecrated a

Episcopal Consecration of the Servant of God, Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky. Evening: Celebrate a Moleben for the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian People behind the Iron Curtain. Deliver a short, appropriate sermon. Recite together with the faithful three Our Fathers and three Hail Marys for this intention.

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Heartfelt prayer to God is the most effective weapon against evil. Therefore, let the Reverend Fathers properly prepare and encourage their faithful and especially the youth to take part in the above services and receive the Sacraments for the intentions stated. Invite to these services the faithful, the organizations, and societies. Do not be discouraged by the small number of faithful who attend, but conduct the services fervently.

AMBRÓSIO SENYSHYN Bishop of Stamford

Ukrainian Metropolitan Slipko

Condemned Again to Seven Years of Hard Labor

EDMONTON, Canada.—The local Ukrainian weekly, Ukrainski Visti, published in its number for August 17, 1959, the following announcement: "In Kiev for three days here was held a trial of Metropolitan Kyr Joseph (Slipko) and he was again condemned to seven years of hard labor in a concentration camp. The news came in a private letter from Ukraine from a person who is interested and knows well the position of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the USSR. Former reports that have reached Canada from this person have always proved true. The letter written at the end of July, says: 'Uncle Joseph was on trial for three days in Kiev. It tortured him a long while. He was condemned to seven years of labor and training camps for the underground organization of the Greek Catholic Church. He is very thin, his beard is completely gray and his head bald. . . . There had been formerly vague reports that Metropolitan Slipko had had to write a letter with pastoral instructions for the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which was forcibly liquidated by the Soviet regime. The Most Rev. Kyr Joseph, born February 17, 1892, was the successor of the late Metropolitan Andriy (Sheptytsky). He was ordained a priest October 30, 1917. Up to the outbreak of World War II he was Rector of the Theological Academy in Lviv and was one of the most prominent Ukrainian theologians. During the first Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine (1939-1941), on December 22, 1939, he was consecrated a

Episcopal Consecration of the Servant of God, Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky. Evening: Celebrate a Moleben for the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian People behind the Iron Curtain. Deliver a short, appropriate sermon. Recite together with the faithful three Our Fathers and three Hail Marys for this intention.

Friday, Sept. 18, 1959, evening: Celebrate a Moleben of Thanksgiving that God would deliver and preserve us from Bolshevik enslavement. Pray that God would protect our youth from Atheism both in their native land and here in America. Deliver a short appropriate sermon and pray together with the faithful three Our Fathers and three Hail Marys for the intention of our youth.

Saturday, Sept. 19, 1959, evening: Celebrate a Moleben imploring God to protect our American nation from Communist machinations and that our faithful would be religious and patriotic citizens of this country and also good Ukrainians.

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AMBRÓSIO SENYSHYN Bishop of Stamford

"Only Prayers Will Quiet This Ache . . ."

On September 15, 1959 the foot of Nikita Khrushchev will step on the soil of the United States of America.

From this day on, for two weeks, over the breadth of this land of ours drenched by the sun of freedom, will roam the shadow of today's biggest criminal in general and executioner of the Ukrainian people in particular.

The arrival of N. Khrushchev to the U.S. will only recall more vividly pictures of millions of his victims in Ukraine and in other countries also enslaved like Ukraine, by means of fire, iron and terror. During Khrushchev's stay in our country, our never-ending ache for the victims of communism will reach extreme heights. Only our fervent prayers will quiet this ache, prayers for all the martyrs and victims of communist tyranny in this world. These prayers

will strengthen our never-ending faith in the ultimate victory of God's Truth over evil, of freedom over tyranny, of true democracy over atheistic communism, ruled over today by that faithful "comrade" of that unequalled criminal Joseph Stalin, his faithful assistant and successor, Nikita Khrushchev.

To this end, in all our churches in the United States on Sunday, September 20, 1959, memorial services will be held for all victims of the now 40-year-old communist invasion of the world. I call to all our brother and sister Ukrainians, to all who hold dear the sacrifice of these heroes and martyrs, to join in these memorial prayers.

✠ MISTYSLAV, Archbishop, President of the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the U.S.A.

UNA President Protests Gov. Meyner's Statement on USSR

Editor's Note: The following letter of D. Halychyn, UNA President, was sent to Gov. Robert F. Meyner of New Jersey, in connection with his statement on his observations in the USSR:

As president of the Ukrainian National Association, a fraternal benefit organization founded in 1894 with a membership now numbering over 77,000, with assets of over \$22 million and which is the largest Ukrainian organization in the free world, having headquarters in this great State of New Jersey, I would like, on behalf of our members, to express respectfully my opinion on two matters:

(1) The Report to President Eisenhower by the members of the Executive Committee of the National Governors' Conference.

(2) Your invitation to the Soviet Premier, Nikita Khrushchev, to visit our State.

The Report of the Governors, which you also signed, states among other things: "We saw no indication that the Soviet people entertain any desire to abandon their system of government and economy, any more than our people intend to abandon their basic beliefs."

Judging by many letters which are being sent to our Daily Sloboda, and other expressions of opinions by our members, this statement must have been a great shock to many of our citizens of Ukrainian and other Eastern European descent. If the non-Russian peoples of the USSR entertain no desire to abandon their system of government and economy, then why do so many of them risk their lives to escape from this system into the free world? Tens of thousands of such refugees behind the Iron Curtain have also settled in our State. And why, during World War II, did millions of Soviet soldiers prefer to surrender as prisoners rather than fight for this system? The population of the occupied territories greeted even the Germans as liberators before they realized that the only difference between Nazi Berlin and Red Moscow was, as the people used to say, "It is much colder in Moscow."

To say that the non-Russian peoples of the USSR entertain no desire to abandon their system of government and economy is equal to saying that the people behind the Iron Curtain do not desire freedom nor human dignity, but prefer slavery.

A similar grave mistake, in

our opinion, was the invitation to visit our State extended to Nikita Khrushchev, known even in America as the "Hangman of Ukraine." We understand that behind the presidential invitation to Khrushchev could be the complicated world situation, including the pressure of our Allies. But how can one explain and justify the invitation to this man, responsible for the genocide of nations, to visit this State, the population of which includes many victims of Khrushchev and his tyrannical system?

We citizens of this State can hardly understand your stand in these two matters. Particularly since you, more than any other responsible leader of our great country, showed such sincere sympathy to the victims of the Communist slave system and used many opportunities to keep their spirit of freedom alive and encouraged them in their struggle for those noble ideals that made our country great and free.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Let All Americans Demonstrate

Dear Sir:

Regardless of the wisdom of the Khrushchev visit (and I join with many in questioning both its wisdom and the timing of the negotiations leading to the invitation), his presence in the United States presents many problems, not the least of which is how Americans should treat our greatest enemy. Both President Eisenhower and Nixon have voiced concern over the safety of the "guest" and the necessity for treating him courteously. Although our President has announced that he would like Mr. Khrushchev to see how "free people work and live," the limited itinerary announced makes it obvious that the Russian dictator has no real thought of seeing our people and learning what we think and for what we stand.

How shall Americans greet Khrushchev? May I humbly suggest —

(1) That he shall be greeted with courtesy and respect for his safety. This requires self-discipline and restraint.

(2) That the day of his arrival be treated as a day of mourning and rededication, with prayers for the victims of Communist butchery and prayers and resolutions making crystal clear that Americans insist on the freeing of the "captive nations." This will reassure our Allies and give heart to the enslaved people behind the "Iron Curtain" that we have not forgotten them nor do we intend to "sell them out."

(3) That wherever Mr. Khrushchev goes, he should be greeted by "silent people" — no flowers, no cheers, no adulation — just silent people wearing the symbols of their religion to remind him of the religious, spiritual, and moral nature of our democracy.

(4) That pamphlets and resolutions of civic, religious and social bodies denouncing the treatment of the people of the "captive nations" and demanding their freedom be sent to Mr. Khrushchev in every city that he visits.

(5) That the disgusting spectacle of bankers, industrialists and politicians fawning

people twist in a painful grimace.

What a terrible price the world is paying for this little bear! What a terrible price it pays for him today, and what an immensely terrible price it will pay for him tomorrow!

Today, the country of classical democracy is paying for him with the discredit of democracy, of Christian morality and the majesty of the kings before all the nations of East Europe; and especially in the eyes of people who are enslaved by the Red Russian despotism. Those who were looking upon the West with a praying hope and all the time regarded the West as an impersonation of God's justice, as a Mount Sinai of all mankind's civilization, are now in despair covering their eyes with their hands in order not to see the catastrophe of their hopes and their faith.

Today's price for the Russian gifts, impersonated by that little bear is an aspen peg driven into democracy, into Christian morality, into human dignity, into the majesty of kings, into everything the West used to be so proud of.

In consequence a great deal of men had their faith shattered; faith in all those human sanctuaries which were the pride and ornaments of the civilized world, and which is so much different from the Red, communist world — a world of killers and murderers, violence and spiritual degradation. The spiritual edges which were dividing the two worlds are trodden down by the Red Russian police (uniformed and secret) in the very center of Europe and smoothed out with the little bear.

But the price, paid today, is not all yet. The real price will be paid tomorrow. Because in the perspective rises . . . rises what must rise, what must be the inevitable, a lawful course of the communist expansion, covered by the little bear in the perspective rises the repetition of the Western's history of what took

place on the Eastern territories. First and foremost rises the shadow of a certain state-man who also wanted co-existence and then, escaping from it, leapt through the window, Masaryk's shadow. They may say that it occurred during Stalin's reign. No, it happened during Zorin's. And Khrushchev's and Bulganin's. Next rises the shadow of all this which is covered up by the little bear and which has to be repeated in the West (which is being repeated in East Germany and in the so-called satellites' long since). We advise all those who swoon when looking at the Khrushchev's little bear to remember the above facts. If the coexistence is going to move at the speed set by the little bear "Nicky" in the center of Europe, then the time is not far off when many a premier and monarch will have to "leap" through the window.

We also advise all English mothers (and fathers, too) that when they are playing with the little bear, to think about those countless mothers and children whose tragedy this poor little bear is concealing. To think about it and to tell their children. But if these (such unpleasant recollections) don't impress them, then we advise them to at least keep before their eyes the tragic fate of other children (not commoner's children).

Remember it well, because the price for a communist dictator's gifts is not only our servitude and deprivation of all legal rights; not only derision over our common people, but also the lives of king's and statesmen's children.

Of course, these words, like all other appeals and protests are merely "cries in the wilderness." Well, we will still tell you this:

Don't you understand us? Never mind, the time will come when you will understand us. You will understand us exactly as all others now do who have hovered up behind the Iron Curtain.

A WARNING OF HISTORY

"Nikita Khrushchev is as foggy as Adolf Hitler and misguided as determined to win by threats what he is not sure he can win by force of arms. For, while nobody wants war, Mr. Khrushchev had better read American history and note that from the earliest days of this republic there were men who cried out, 'Give me liberty or give me death.' That is what will eventually prove the undoing of Nikita Khrushchev and his gangster regime as the peoples of the 'captive' countries, including peoples in parts of the Soviet Union like Ukraine, will some day rise up to demand their freedom and independence. History is not 'irreversible,' as Mr. Khrushchev claims. History really repeats itself often where injustice and despotism have deprived men of human rights."

Respectfully yours,
Phelps Phelps
(Former Ambassador to the Dominican Republic)
September 1, 1959,
Jersey City, N. J.

Books on Ukraine in English:

HISTORY OF UKRAINE by M. Hruschovsky	\$5.00
IVAN FRANKO—Cundy	4.50
EXPERIENCE WITH RUSSIA by V. Hayshko	2.00
Cloth cover	3.00
500 UKRAINIAN MARTYRED WOMEN	2.00
Cloth cover	2.50
ONE OF FIFTEEN MILLION—N. Prychodko	3.00
PARAS SHEVCHENKO, POET OF UKRAINE—Manning	2.50
THE UKRAINE: A SUBMERGED NATION—Chamberlin	1.75
SPIRIT OF UKRAINE—Snovyda	1.00
TWENTIETH CENTURY UKRAINE—Manning	3.50
UKRAINE AND ITS PEOPLE—Mirchuk	3.00
UKRAINE UNDER THE SOVIETS—Manning	3.50
UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE	3.00
MOSES—I. Franko	0.50
MUSE IN PRISON	1.00
SHEVCHENKO, AND WOMEN—Myshuha	0.50
UKRAINE AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY—Myshuha	0.50
IN QUEST OF FREEDOM—Dushnyk	1.00
UKRAINIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT—Shumeyko	0.35
LIFE IN AMERICA — A handbook of information for newcomers to the United States	50

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The Price of Khrushchev's Little Bear

(Continued from Page 2)

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